

The fourth parte  
of Cōmentaries of the  
*Ciwill warres in Fraunce,*  
and of the lovve countrie  
of Flaunders: Translated  
out of Latine into English,  
by *Thomas Tymme*  
Minister.

*Seene and allowed.*

¶ Imprinted at Lon-  
don by Henrie Bin-  
neiman, for Hum-  
frey Toy.

*Anno. 1576.*





¶ To the right honorable  
Lorde Ambrose Dudley, Earle of  
*Warwicke, Baron of Lisle, of the*  
most honorable order of the Garter  
Knight, Generall of the Queenes Maiesties  
Ordinance, within hir highnesse  
realmes and dominions.



It is cōmonly seen  
(right honorable)  
that all men occupy  
them selues most in  
the reading of those  
matters, wherein  
they haue delight, eyther for that  
they are naturally disposed therevnto,  
or else well experienced in the  
same. The which consideration be-  
ing ioyned with the Argument of  
this my booke, I coulde not deuise  
with my selfe a more fitte patron, to  
whome I might dedicate the same,  
than to your honour. For such no-  
ble  
¶.ij.



ble courage hath nature wrought in  
you, found out by effecte in martiall  
affaires, as I perswade my selfe you  
will delight and recreate your selfe  
much, with the reading of the vali-  
ant acts, done by diuers courageous  
persons, in these last ciuill warres of  
Fraunce. Accept therefore (ryght  
honourable) my choyce, and par-  
don my boldnesse, which good will  
hath caused me to shewe, presuming  
vpon your honourable curtesie, by  
whiche I am drawne, as by the load-  
stone, to offer this simple present to  
your honours handes: I wishe the  
same might in any part be answerable  
to your worthynesse. VVhere-  
fore not to stay your honour with  
longer speech, I take my leaue, reco-  
mending my poore paines to your  
honours protection.

Your honours most humble  
*Thomas Tymme.*

# The Translatour to the Reader.



He increasing of newe troubles and warres in *Fraunce*, hath also increased the matter, and given larger occasion of the publishing of this fourth part of Commentaries, the whiche contayneth (as the other three partes do) three booke: the first of the three in the Latin Coppy reckoned the tenth. But bycause we haue to our third part already a tenth Booke annexed contayning the summe of those things whiche are written in the first Booke of this fourth volume. I haue thought good not to translate the same in order as it lieth, but only to gleane out those principall matters which are different from the other: for that it is superfluous in one work to print one and the selfe same thing twice. This fourth parte comprehendeth the actes and gesses of the ciuill warres, from the time of the last peace concluded in Anno 1571. vnto the death of King *Charles* the ninth, who dyed in Anno. 1574. In the whiche there is set before thee (righte Christian Reader) a large discourse, not only of the affayres of *Fraunce*, but also of the lowe countrey of *Flaunders*, as tyme and occasion offereth the same. Accept my good will bestowed in translating this parte to benefyte the English reader.

¶ iii.

The





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Fault escaped in Printing.

Page.3.line last saue thre, Reade the deepe iudgement of God. And  
in the same line, for begin, reade began.



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# Additions to the tenth Booke of Commentaries, necessary

to be considered in the reading of the Tragi-  
call murder committed at *Paris*  
and in other places of  
*Fraunce.*



THE Kings Edict being proclaymed (as  
we haue sayde in the ninth Booke of Com-  
mentaries) y<sup>e</sup> foireine souldiers were dismiss,  
& specially they of Germany. The euery one  
with speede went home to their houses whi-  
che they had not seene before by the space of  
thre yeeres: and, as after a greate tempest, all men desired a  
quiet and peaceable time: as well the Catholiques as they of  
the Religion, who also them selues felte the sore harmes of  
warres.

They of the Religion yeilded by all their cities almost, ex-  
cept those whych the King had graunted vnto them by his E-  
dict, as Rochell, La Charite, and Sanserre.

The garrisons whiche came in the Kings name were re-  
ceyued into the surrendred cities, who then more quietly be-  
haued them selues than they were wont afore time vppon the  
conclusion of peace when warre was ended. Thus by little  
and little mens mindes were glad to be at rest, beyng weery-  
ed with the bloody and lothsome experience of long and te-  
dious warres, wishing peace: in so much that they of the Re-  
ligion had forgotten the former iniuries, the whiche was the  
harder to do, by cause of the falschode and treason shewed a-  
gainst them: yea, the Catholiques seemed to loue peace, and  
friendly to embrace them of the Religion. For it was repor-  
ted, that the kings will and mind was, to haue the peace firme-  
ly established. Therefore all men deemed that all thyngs ten-  
ded to peace by this happy beginning.

a.

THE

Anno. M. D.

1563.



The Queene  
of Nauar and  
other nobles  
came to Ro-  
chell.

THE Queene of Nauar came to Rochell with the Prince  
hir sonne, and with the rest of hir family: the Prince of Conde  
also and the Admirall, and the rest of the peeres whiche pro-  
fessed the Religion, came thither that they mighte there, the  
more safely attend the proceedings of the late concluded peace.  
But within fewe monethes, eury one priuily got him home  
to his owne house, being weary of so long delay.

The marri-  
age between  
the King and  
the Empe-  
rours daugh-  
ter.

THE King tooke the daughter of the Emperour Maxi-  
milian to wife: the whiche all men sayd was a great occasion  
to further the peace. The marriage was celebrated with great  
royaltie, and the newe Queene was receyued of the men on  
both partes with great ioy, as the happie beginning of syme  
and constant peace: and same opposed hir gentle nature and  
disposition, against the troublesome and churlish inclination  
of the Queene mother: & men were in great doubt it would  
come to passe that the king for the fauour and liking that hee  
had of his newe wife, whome he was sayd to loue entirely,  
would growe in dislike of the Queene mother, whose nature  
he could not brooke long before, saying that he neyther would  
no: could beare any longer hir imperious ambition.

The common custome of humane affayres brought a spe-  
ciall credit to this repute, that the newe Mistresse and Lady  
should put the olde dame quite out of fauour. Hereunto were  
added the forces of domesticall reasons. The King had two  
brethren, the Duke of Anjou, of whome we haue spoken often  
times before: & the Duke of Engolessie. The Duke of Anjou,  
was more in fauour with his mother, and had gotten to hym  
selfe a name, and singular credit among the nobles, both by  
his seruice in the warres, and also by his happy success in the  
same: besyde also the hono: whiche the Catholiques gaue  
vnto him, who had him in more estimation almost than the  
King him selfe: in somuch that hee receyued a yearly reue-  
nue of two hundred thousande Frankes of the Cleargie,  
vppon condition to bee the patrone and defender of the  
Church.

The Duke of Anjou being thus plentifully maintayned,

the King his brother (as it is credibly reported) had hym in suspicion: and that it appeared manifestly by euident speeches and deedes that the King bare priuie grudge againste his brother. Also that the King sayd, that hee would not be worried with new troubles of warres: and that of late they of the Religion had bin falsely accused vnto him. On the contrary part, the Duke of Anjou shewed hym selfe an enemye to those of the Religion: boasted of his victories ouer them: dyd hurt them by all meanes that he could: favoured those whom the King hated, and hated those whom the King loued. Thus it euidently appeared, that there was enmitie betwene those two brethren, in somuch that it seemed necessary for the King, to defende hym selfe agaynst his brothers power, leass hee should begin any new trouble, and to diminish the authoritie of his mother whiche had continued ouer long, thereby to winne to hym selfe the hartes of those of the Religion: for that it was more for his safetie to trust vnto the ayde and strength of them of the Religion, than to y<sup>e</sup> Catholiques. These kindes of reasons stooke in the mindes of wise men, mouing them to thinke that the King woulde encline to peace, and also seeke to winne vnto him those of the Religion. But the quite contrary was provided for, by so great subtilty and craft of the Queene mother, who beeing the chiefe workmistresse of these deceipts, made the King the chiefe minister and instrument of them. The King trauayled to bring this one thing especially to passe, that he might thoroughly perswade and certifie the Queene of Nauar, & the Admirall (by whose counsailes al y<sup>e</sup> affayres of those of y<sup>e</sup> Religio were ordered) of his assured good will, both to obserue & keepe y<sup>e</sup> peace, and also to defend them, y<sup>e</sup> so they might trust vnto him. The subtil means & practises whiche he vsed to bring this thing to passe, we haue shewed in y<sup>e</sup>. x. boke. Only we are here to note y<sup>e</sup> deepe iudgemēt, which now begin to prouide great & sharp punishmētts. It is wonderful y<sup>e</sup> after so many experiments of treason, y<sup>e</sup> the Admirall being of a pregnat wit, & hauing experience of great maters, could not beware of y<sup>e</sup> subtil deceipts of a woman

Hartburning  
betwene the  
King and the  
Duke of An-  
jou.



and a yong man: when as he him selfe often times sayde, that he suspected the craftie wit of the Queene.

About this time letters came from the Princes of Germany (as we haue sayde in the tenth Booke) to shewe their glad mindes for the peace concluded: to whome the King wrote agayne of his willingnesse to establish the same.

Murder committed at Orange bypon those of the Religion.

NEVERTHELESSE the Catholiques could not temper and stay their felues in certayne places. At Orange there was committed a great slaughter, notwithstanding that the King had made warrantise of the contrary to the Prince of Orange. For all they of the Religion whiche were fled away in time of the former warre, were returned thither agayne bypon trust and warrant of the Kings Edict: bypon whome, they mistrusting no such thing, the souldiers beeyng let into the towne, fell with violence, the townefmen whych were Catholiques, setting them a worke, and assisting them, so that they slue without all pittie or mercy a great number of men, women and children. Notwithstanding, the Kynge's garrison, whiche as yet remayned in the Castell, was a safeguard for many, the whiche if it had not suppressed the rage of the people, a greater number of the Religious had bin slayne.

Notwithstanding the Prince of Orange urged the King, to yeld vnto him Orange and the rest of the dominion, whiche he did at the last: monf. Berchon a wise man, beeyng sente for the same purpose, who receyued in the Princes name, both the Castell and the Towne, and the whole Countie.

After the which, commaundement was gyuen in the Princes name, that the men of both parties shoulde liue euery afterwarde peaceably, according to the tenor of the Edict, and that the vse of both Religions shoulde be free. Those whiche were gilty of the murder committed, at the firste stole away for feare of punishment, notwithstanding being at the last perswaded both with the words and sufferance of monf. Berchon, they returned into the Citty agayne. For monf. Berchon wonderfully dissembled the loue which he bare vnto the Religion, in somuch that he would not come to the sermons of the same, as though

## tenth Booke.

though he fauoured the Catholiques. Thus the authors of the murder being allured to Orenge agayne, were at the last apprehended, and put to death.

About the same time also certayne of the reformed Church Murder at of Rhoane were put to deathe by the common people: and in Roane. diuers other places also murders were committed agaynst the Edict.

Hereupon the Queene of Nauar, the Princes, and other of the Peeres, sent Briquemald, Teligni, La Noe, and Cauaignes, whiche were noble and wise men, to the King, to complayne to his maiestie of these violations of the Edict, and to require reformation of the same.

The King very louingly receyued them, declaring howe great greefe the hearing of these things was vnto him: and taking great othes, according to his custome, promised that hee would so punish the breakers of his Edict, that they should be an example to all others. Therefore at the kings commaundement certayne of the chiefe of the Senate of Paris were sent out of hand to Rhoane, to sit vpon that murder, and to punish the offenders according to lawe. Marshall Momorencie also receyued charge concerning this matter. Notwithstanding the greatest part of those murderers fled away at the rumour hereof. Therefore many of their goodes were confiscate: and three hundred of those whiche were absent were condemned to dye: also certayne of the rascall sort were hanged.

After this certayne men were put in commission, to see if there were any thing committed against the Edict in any part of the Realme: to heare also the complaints of the plain- tiffes, and to satisfie them according to the fourme of the Edict. But these commissioners, euen as they had done afore time, vsed onely in steede of iustice and equitie, a counterfayte and outward shew of lawe.

IN a certayne village of the territorie of Valentz called Monboch, a certayne yong man of the Religion, of honest parentage, found by chaunce in a mans house vestments and Coapes for Masse. These in iell and derision he put vpon him,

a. liij.

running



running vp and downe the streetes, making a iest and scoome of Popes ryles. He being accused for this to the Commissioners, was apprehended, and kept in close pryson for certayne dayes: and afterwards a great fine being set vpon his fathers heade, he was adiudged to the Galley: the which punishment in Fraunce, belongeth vnto vagabunds and theenes.

THEY of the Religion had a great summe of money to paye for the wages of the Reisters, to whome a large summe was yet due: the sureties for the which were the Princes, the Admirall, Countie Rochfoucault, and certayne of the principall nobles: some part the king had payde. For the payment of this sum, a great tribute was layd vpon those of the religion, namely, that every one should paye towarde this summe, the fifth part of his reuenues, untill the same were fully payde and discharged. For the gathering whereof, there were certayne Collectours appoynted by the kings letters in every prouince, notwithstanding, with the appeale of the Queene of Navar, and of the Princes.

This burthen, after so great spoyle & waste made by wars, seemed too many to be very great, in so much, that it kept backe a great many of those whiche had professed the reformed religion, from comming into the congregation. Notwithstanding the greater part of them of the religion, gladly payde that tribute, vpon hope of peace, and for the desire they had to enioy the religion. Besides this tribute, there were other subsidies also to be payd to the king, the greatnesse whereof, forayne nations would scarce beleue. For there is no Christian nation vnder the sunne, that beareth the burthen of so many subsidies and taxes, as doth the realme of Fraunce, whereby incredible summes are gathered. Neuerthelesse, these subsidies were payde with great willingnesse of mynde, that within fewe moneths great treasure came vnto the king. Besides these charges, euery Church was to mayntaine their ministers, and to provide for other necessities.

Besides this, the places appoynted for holy assemblies and preachings of the worde, were verie inconuenient.

There

Subsidies  
and taxes.

Therefore it is wonderfull, that the Churches stood amidst so many stumbling blockes and inconueniences. Notwithstanding, great was the number of them of the Religion in every place, growing and increasing, notwithstanding these extremities.

VVE spake before, concerning those whom the Queene of Nauar, and the Princes sent vnto the king. They as we noted, obtained not onely at the handes of the king, that the violating of the kings Edict should be reformed, but also such familiaritie with the king, that in ample manner he did expresse his mynde, not only concerning the establishing of peace, but also that he would for the more certaine continuing of the same, gyue his sister Margaret in marriage to Prince Henrie, sonne to the Queene of Nauar. But this was the beginning of the lamentable tragedie of Bartholme Wolfe.

The first motion of the marriage.

The report heereof was no doubt, verie acceptable to the Queene of Nauar, and to hir sonne: notwithstanding it is sayd, that the Admirall at the first had this motion in suspicion, who going with Theligni to the Queene of Nauar about this matter, the said Theligni shewing y<sup>e</sup> kings good will expressed at large, both towards the Queene of Nauar, and also toward the Admirall him self. It is sayd to contend in word greatly against the same. Notwithstanding, letters being often sent concerning the dayly speech of the king, the Admirals mynde began by little and little to be perswaded, and to iudge very well of the king in all things, thinking that a yong man which was of a milde nature and a louer of peace, coulde not dissemble: and although he feared the subtile and craftie wit of the Queene mother, neuerthelesse the matter was come to that point, that the king would not hearken to hir counsailes, in dispyght of his brother the Duke of Anjou, whose power he had greatly in suspicion.

It is sayd also y<sup>e</sup> mons. Momorencie, who was counsellor germane to the Admirall, prepayled much in perswading y<sup>e</sup> Admirall. And the king to serue his turne, made great account of Momorencie, committed vnto him y<sup>e</sup> charge of weightie affaires, and



& dayly talked with him about secret matters of priuie counsell: For there is an olde and continuall hatred (as we haue oftentimes sayd) betweene the houses of Momorencie & of Guise: in somuch that Momorencie thought, that not onely the Admirals death but his also was sought: and that for thys cause he was alwayes suspected and out of fauour with y<sup>e</sup> Queene.

THE Guises therefore seemed dayly more and more to be out of fauour with the King: contrariwise, he seemed to vse the King familiarly: and protested his singular good will towards the Admiral: also he conferred with him about weightie affaires, for the exploiting whereof, he sayd he had neede of the help and ayde of the Admirall.

The Queene also according to hir manner protested, that she desired nothing more, than that all former matters being forgotten, an assured peace might be established.

And the summe of all their communications and speeches was this, that the Queene of Nauar, the Princes, and the Admirall should come vnto the King, and be thoroughly perswaded of his singular good will towards them. By whyche meanes it might come to passe, that a firme friendship mighte be made, their minds being reconciled by familiar speache.

These things being dayly brought both by letters of Momorencie, and also by speeches of messengers, the Queene of Nauar was not onely thoroughly perswaded heereof, but also the mind of the Admirall fully banquished and overcome.

Anno. 88. D.  
1553.

**I**N this yeere there befell suche a sharpe colde winter, that the Riuer of Rosne was frozen quite ouer all along the chanel: and, whiche was neuer hard of before, Countie Vole a noble man, went ouer the riuer on foote with his whole family and others, commanding his Mules to goe before him laden with cariage out of the countrie of Viuretz into Dauphine.

I N Languedoc and in Prouance most temperate Regions, the Olive trees, sygge trees, Orange trees, and Pomegranat trees were almost dead with colde: Vines also starued in many places, to y<sup>e</sup> great spoyle of most fertile countries.

Where-

Wherupon ensued a great dearth, which the godly interpreted as a forewarning of Gods great indgements.

IN the moneth of March of this present yee there was holden a generall Synode of the reformed Churches at Rochell, vppon graunt from the Kings maiestie by his letters.

A Synode  
holden at  
Rochell.

There came to this Synode godly and learned men from all partes of the Realme, as Antoni Chande a man of noble parentage, Nicolaus Gelazius, and many others. Thither came also Theodore Beza, vppon request of y<sup>e</sup> Princes letters to the Senate of Geneva, and was made chiefe in that Synode, being chosen according to manner & custome by voyces. It pleased also the Queene of Nauar, the Princes, preers, & nobles of the Religion to be present in this assembly. In this Synode were specially handled the manner of reforming the Churches: the principall poynte of doctrine: Ecclesiasticall discipline, a new manner wherof Iohannes Morelius went about to bring in a little before: diuers other things also were handled, concerning certaine other newe formes in the Lordes supper.

ABOVT the same tyme the messengers of the Princes returned from the King, hauing large giftes giuen them, and bringyng with them ioyfull tydings, concerning the Kyngs assured good will towardes the Queene of Nauar, toward the Princes, the Admirall and the other noble men: concernyng publique peace and the expected matrimony: and concernyng preparation to bee sent at the Kyngs commaundment into the low countrey: which y<sup>e</sup> messengers sayd they theselues shuld vnderstand by y<sup>e</sup> kings own mouth: willing the to go w<sup>th</sup> all speed vnto y<sup>e</sup> king, which was y<sup>e</sup> principal point of their ambassage.

Wherupon the Queene of Nauar thought that she could not but go vnto the King, fearing least if she should deny the same, or should defer the tyme, the King would be displeased, seeing also M. Biron was come vnto hir straye after the returne of the messengers with the same message from y<sup>e</sup> king, to the ende she might make the more speede.

Notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> wisest sort suspected hir going: to whō the mariage in persons of contrary religion seemed dangerous,



rous, and contrary to the expresse word of God. Nevertheless worldly reasons prevailed, & the lamentable tragedy might go forward, & is to say, that by iust providence of god might fynde a way to bring great matters about, and to punish both their sins, he vled both their sins after a certaine wonderful manner.

The Queene  
of Nauar  
commeth to  
the Court.

Therefore the Queene of Nauar came to the Courte with a great traine, which at that time was at Blay. For whose honorable entertainment, it can scarce be tolde what great preparation was made by the King, the Queenes, the kings brethren, his sister, and by the whole Courte: insomuch that every courtier went forth to meete hir as to receyue that which above all other things had a long tyme bene desired. The King for his parte shewed all duties of humanitie in welcomming the Queene of Nauar, that by any manner of meanes he might.

THE chiefe and greatest busines was about the marriage: the contracte whereof could not be made without the presence of the Queene of Nauar. The King & Queene by all meanes vttered their good willes: The mynde of the Queene of Nauar was thoroughly perswaded of the same: they disagreed not aboute the dowry: For a large dowry meete for suche a State was offered: and the Queene mother was very careful for the bestowing of hir only daughter, shee making a Metue as though she would spare nothing to further the same.

Many things were handled concerning the contracte of matrimony: concerning the auncient societie and frendship betwene the house of Valoys, of Borbon, and of Aubeter: and very notable things were at large spoken on both partes concerning the restoring of the kingdome into his former state by the meane of a tyme peace.

There remained two doubts, which seemed to trouble both partes, namely the respecte of contrary religion: and the place where the marriage should be celebrated. For the Queene of Nauar would not haue the same at Paris: which citie she feared, both for that the same was addicted to the Romish Religion, and also an enimie to the house of Nauar.

The

The King said that he would not haue the manner of royall mariages altered, which were wont to be celebrated there: and the rather because the same did greatly make for the assured signe of peace, when the same should be seene to be openly celebrated in the Metropolitane citie of the realme, as it were in the face of the whole worlde. And now although both partes were perswaded, that this maryage might bee made very profitably, yet notwithstanding there was great doubt concerning the manner of celebratyng the maryage. The Queene of Navar beyng zelously addicted to the reformed religion, would in no wyse consent that the maryage should bee celebrated after the Romish fashion: neyther the Queene mother would condescend that they should bee maryed after the order of the reformed Religion. Thus there was greatesse dissention betwene the two women, whereas they were agreed of the principall matter.

The King at the first intreated the Queene of Navar to graunt vnto him and to his sister this libertie: for that it appertayned to his dignitie, that the forme of the auncient Religion, which he had receyued from his auncetors might bee vbled in the marriage of his sister. When the Queene of Navar had constantly excused hir selfe, and that the King perceiued he preuayled nothing at all, it is reported, that vsing his accustomed othes, he sayd that he would set his sister at libertie from the lawes of Rome, and also from the rytes of the Religion: and that hee him selfe would celebrate the maryage, than the which there could not be a more pompous celebration. The which rumor was spred abroad among the Courtiers, and this new imagination pleased many very well: for whatsoeuer the King saith or doth, that doth the Frenchman lyke, insomuche that they frame both their speech and their apparell according to the Kings guise.

To remooue this doubte respite was taken on eyther parte. The King sente letters vnto Pope Pius the fifth, to obtayne lycence for hys Syster to marry with Henry Borbon hys Cousyne, leasse the respecte eyther



Lycence to  
marry sent  
for to Rome.

of consanguinitie or of Religion might binder the mariage: for that it was for the wealth of the Realme : Furthermore that it would please his holines to giue them leaue to vse such rytes in celebrating matrimonie as might best serue theyr turne.

The Pope altogether misliketh of the Kings request, the which he often tymes denyed to graunt, aspyming the same to be most vnlawfull.

On the other parte also the Queene of Nauar consulted with the ministers of the reformed Religion, what might be done in this matter. Of the which diuers verdictes and iudgements were giuen. Some byging the simplicitie of the word of god, thought it wicked by any manner of meanes to contracte such matrimonie, the which was therefore muche more dangerous in noble personages, bicause the assayes in hand did not belong to one house alone, but also almost to the whole Realme. The which speeches notwithstanding were not gracious and acceptable to the Queene of Nauar and to the rest of the nobles, perswading themselves that they should all generally receyue great profite by that maryage. Therefore the matter was committed to a fewe, by whose determination the same was to be ended: and they concluded nothing but that which they knew would please y<sup>e</sup> Queene of Nauar & the nobles. Then the matter being approued vpon their sentence & determination, began to grow in greater liking, & to please more of y<sup>e</sup> ministers, whose iudgements were afterward required in publique assēblies of y<sup>e</sup> churches of Frāce.

Thus the woyses counsaile tooke place, and not only the Queene of Nauar, but also the greatest part of them of the religion, earnestly wished that mariage. All the cōtrouerisie stood on this poynte, by what way most conueniently and with lest offence of eyther parte the mariage might be solemnized.

The Admiral  
marrieth his  
second wife.

THE Admirals wyfe being dead, hee maryed another of the noble house of Royen, being daughter to the Countie of Entremont, and heyre to greate possessions. This stocke belongeth to the Countie of Sauoy: and this riche noble

ble woman, was desired in maryage of many noble men and peeres also of Sauoy. Notwithstanding the Admirall preuayled both by the meanes of the Kings letters to Philibert Duke of Sauoy (whose authoritie was greate in makynge that noble maryage) and also by his owne fame and name of Religion, which was most acceptable to that heroicall Lady: and so tooke hir to his wife, which many gathered to bee an argument of most fyne peace.

THE Admirall thought it necessarie for the expedition of the affayres in the lowe countrey, to enter into league with Elizabeth the Duzenes maiestie of Englande. And good occasion (as he thought) was offered, for that hir maiestie is single, and the Duke of Anjou the Kings brother wanted a wyfe. The Duke of Anjou thought him selfe worthy so great a maryage, both for that hee was the Kyngs brother, and also bicause he had wonne to him selfe great renowne and prayse, by his valiant actes in martiall affayres.

The charge to bring this matter to passe was committed to M. Momorencie, a wise man, and one of the chiefe nobles and gouernours of France.

The ende declared the causes of this league: both that by this practise the myndes of the Admirall and of all the rest which ought necessarily to be blynded for the better finishing of the wicked facte, might be deceyued: all the whole matter being cloked with prouident care for the dispatche into the lowe countrey: and also that Momorencie a man of sharpe wit myght not through hys familiaritie and conference with the Kyng smell out the counsailes of the tragedy which was in hande: and finally that England being bounde by the name of this league, might not stirre as offended at the wickednes of the facte, the which also came to passe. These were the reasons why the league was made with y<sup>e</sup> Duzenes maiestie of Englande, as hath since appeared by the successe it selfe.

AUTVMNE of this present yeeere was very vnseasonable, flowing with continuall & vehement showers of rayne. A



Floudes of  
water.

great parte of the houses and buildings of Feraria fell downe, to the present ruine of the whole Citie. Here vnto Geneva at the straites of Echuse, a great parte of a byll was broken down with the great and violence of the waters, and fel down into the Riuer of Rosne, with the which the water was so flopte that it dyd overflowe: and the sayd Ryuer was so cheeke with the floude, that the streame hauyng bys contrary course backward, caused the wherles of those milles that stode vppon the same to runne amisse, and so turne the Millstones the wrong waye: to the wonder of such as sawe the same, the lyke wherof was neuer scene before.

In erthquake

There was also so greate an Earibquake in a certayne village neere vnto Geneva, that all the houses in the same were ouerthrowne: and a certayne peere of grounde belonging to the same, was remoued out of his place, and houses that were strongly builde, and trees also that were greate and talle, were ouerthrowne. Also the Suburbes of Lyons called Agailor, was almost quyte ouerthrowen with this vyolence of waters, and the greatestte parte also of the stoneworke of the Bydge vppon the Riuer of Rosne.

An atinie was prepared to goe to Burdeaux, and to the famous hauens of Broages: the charge wherof was committed to Mons. Strozzi, and to Baron d'Guarde. The rumour concerning the warre to come encreased more and more, even as same is wont to preuent things to come. But it was giuen out that this warre should bee in the lowe countrey. Therefore the Spanissh Ambassadors made often complaints vnto the King, as though by his maiesties commaundement warre should haue bene taken in hande against the King of Spaine his soueraigne. But the King excused him selfe with wonderfull dissimulation, insonuche that they of the Religion by so doubtfull an answer were deemed that the Kynge's mynde was fully perswaded concerning the warre of the low countrey.

About the same tyme also Lodowic Nalsau brother to the Prince

Prince of Orange, came to the Courte accompanying the  
Duchess of Navar, and entred into league with the King in  
his brothers name, the same being subscribed and sealed.

At such tyme as the Spanie was preparing in the Ocean Anno. M.D.  
Sea, appointed with six thousand footmen and a great num- LXXII.

ber of perrees: there went a common ieste abroad, that the  
Spanie went into the Isle of Florida to fetch golde, but in ve-  
ry deed the simpler sorte of the cominen people sayde, that this  
preparation was not only by the Kings sufferance, but also  
by his expresse commaundement, for the lowe countrey.

This preparation pleased the mooste parte of the people very  
well: and all men of both partes, were ready to ioyne toge-  
ther in the same warre, with so good will, as if they had neuer  
felde the calamities of warre. On the other parte, a great  
number of Catholiques and of those of the Religion, accor-  
dyng as they were ioynd together by affinitie and acquaint-  
tance, went to another warre, namely into Italy against the  
Turke, against whom he seeking to winne the Isle of Malta,  
they bended their whole force & power: Therefore men went  
thither with a great trayne of noble men of France, among  
which Marques d'Menie brother to the Duke of Guise was  
one.

Notwithstanding the greater parte went to the warre, of  
the lowe countrey, Captaynes being sent into all parts of the  
Realme, to gather such Soldiers as would serue in that war  
of their owne accorde, and their wages was payde them out  
of the Kings treasure.

THE delay of this marriage seemed to be very long to all  
men, but especially to the which looked for & desired the same,  
the cause whereof was made the Popes prohibition, notwith-  
standing y<sup>e</sup> kings letters oftentimes sent for licence and his re-  
quest to the Cardinal Alexandrin, for the same purpose.

THE first day of May in this present yeare, Pope Pius  
the sixth dyed, the which offered hope to the King (as he sayd)  
to obtayn of y<sup>e</sup> new Pope licence to ende y<sup>e</sup> marriage. Yet not-  
withstanding the Duchess of Navar plainly shewed his selfe  
not



not to regarde any suche lycence, for the which cause were made so many delayes: and shee complayned hereof oftentimes vnto the King.

SHORTLY after, the Popes death being noyed, the King commaunded the Cardinall of Loraine to goe to Rome to be present (as it was reported) at the Popes election. The King sayd that hee had giuen him in charge to procure the Popes dispensatio, that once at the last that marriage might bee finished.

The Cardinall promising faithfully to accomplishe the Kings commaundement concerning the Pope, altogether renouncing the Courte, seemed in the iudgement of the wiser soyle, besyde common reportes, to prouide for his owne safetie, least he him selfe should bee in daunger in so great fauour of them of the Religion, or in proclayming of a new war.

All which things were so handled by the craftie dealing of the Queene mother, the King also framing both his countenance and also his speech accordingly, that even the moste fine wittes in the courte, thought that there was nothing but truth ment.

A Synode  
at Nismes.

IN the moneth of May there was a Synode at a noble Citie in Languedoc called Nismes, of the reformed Churches. To this Synode, by the benefite of the Kings letters, came the Ministers and chosen men of the reformed Churches from all partes of the Realm. The question was moued concernyng ecclesiasticall doctrine. At this Synode were present Theodore de Beza, Anthonius Chauderus, Nicolaus Gelazius, and dyuers other learned and famous men. Gelazius was chosen to bee the moderator of this Synode.

Famine in  
Languedoc.

THERE was at this tyme a great famine in Languedoc and about the Sea coast, being of it selfe a very fruitfull soyle: and it continued so long, that dead bodyes starued with hunger laye in the streetes. For this cause the Synode brake vp theyr sitting at Nismes, and appointed a vacation, bothe for that distemples wanted

to serue so great a multitude, and also to prouide for the poorer sort, least they should be at charge for lawe matters.

THE peace which men nowe more largely enjoyed, had almost lost the reynes of al libertie, in so much, that he which now professed the Religion, seemed to differ nothing at all, neyther in speache nor in manners from the Catholike. And now there beganne to be a great famine of the word of God: mens myndes being annoyed with tedious curiositie, and in many also of luke warme zeale, in suche wise, that a great number of those of the Religion, could nowe scarcely abyde to heare a Sermon of ordinarie doctrine, as not eloquent and courtly inough. Thus by peace and ease, things commonly waxe worse and worse. Is it then any maruell, if the Church be oftentimes afflicted and overwhelmed with troubles and calamities, when it abuseth peace, and the happy successe of things?

THERE is vpon the sea coast of Flaunders a citie called Vlissing, standing verie conveniently for trafike and entre-course to Andwerpe. The towneishmen of this citie being wearie of the crueltie of the Spaniards, shue the Lieutenant which was set by the Duke of Alba to kepe the towne, and certaine of his garrison, and tooke the citie. And when the Duke of Alba sent a newe supply to reconer the towne, they valiantly repulsed them, and set them selves at libertie. By their example many cities of the lowe countrey were encouraged: and the noble towne of Zeland and Holland, were layde to fauour the Prince of Aurenge, and to desire libertie.

THE Queene of Nauar being poysoned to death with a payre of perfumed gloues (as is layde in the tenth booke) the King, Queene, and the whole court seemed to take hir death very grieuously. The King to put away all suspition of poyson, commaunded that the dead body should be ripe vp by physicians, and so the causes of hir death found out. The physicians taking a viewe of y<sup>e</sup> body, reported that she dyed of a pleurisie: the more secret cause, which was the poysoning of the brayne, being not found, for that they did not search the head. There-



foze to stop the rumour, his death was spread abroad in publicke writings and billes. His body was caried to Vendosme, and there sumptuously buried, according to the maner of the religion. The King and Queene to declare their sorow and griefe, put on mourning weed, and commaunded all the court to doe the lyke. The Queene of Navar being thus deade, the King so dealt with his sonne Henrie, with the Admirall, and with the rest of the noble men of the religion that his death seemed to hasten forward the marriage. Therefore within fewe dayes, the mourning for the Queene of Navar was layde aside in the court. The King practized another subletie, to appoint the day of marriage, for the which, so many delays had bene hitherto made. He sayd oftentimes to the Prince of Navar and to the Admirall, that this time was differred by a certaine superstitious care of his mother, of his sister, and of the Cardinal of Borbon, who mynded to marry them, looking for the Popes dispensation, by which they were to have leave to marry. He sayned therfore, that he had receyved letters from Rome from his Ambassadour, by which he gave them to understande, that the cardinal of Lorchain by his diligence had obtained the Popes dispensation, which he would send with al speede possible: and that he had sent him worde hereof out of hande, that the King might not thinke the same long a coming. Therefore the King shewed these letters unto his mother, to his sister, and to the Cardinall of Borbon. The Queene reioyced, and sayde that the same was sufficient, to ende the matter (even as if she had not knowne that they were sayned letters, and that there was no impediment now, but that the marriage might be solemnized. Therefore it was agreed by consent on eyther part, that the marriage day should be the. xviij. of August.

THE towne of Mountes was besieged by the duke of Alba, Lodowic Nassau was in the town, with a great number of the nobilitie of Fraunce. M. Genlis a noble man, came with 500. horsemen, and 4000. footemen, with the kings consent, to succour the besieged. But the duke of Alba, having privie intelligence from the king of the coming of M. Genlis (of the which he

he suspected nothing) encountered with him, and distressed verie sore, many of his souldiers being slayne, some wounded, and some taken prysoners. Also monsieur Genlis and La Noc, generallcs of that armie, were taken prysoners. The rumour of this ouerthrowe seemed to be verie grievous vnto the King, and to the whole Court. And by and by the King sent his letters vnto monsieur Monducet his Ambassadour in the lowe countrey, which was with the Duke of Alba, to see that no iniurie nor harme were done to monsieur Genlis, and to the resse which were taken in battell. Monducet did the kings Ambassage diligently to the Duke of Alba. The Admirall being certified of these commaundementes of the king, and also of the diligence of Monducet with the Duke of Alba, was wonderfully perswaded of the kings saythfull meaning, to take warre in hande: whome he heard oftentimes to say, that he would one day be reuenged on the Duke of Alba, and on the Spaniards. In the meane time, the king gaue commission to the Admirall to leuie a newe armie, that with a freche supply of souldiers, he might succour the beleeged.

The mynides of them of the religion were greatly ioyous, because of the marriage at hand. Notwithstanding, pittifull rumours went abroad dayly: which they for the most part wold in no wise beleue, construing all things to the best.

It is most certaine that many wile men, after the death of the Queene of Navar, suspected that there was some fraude colourd vnder the pretence of matrimony, and that the same deceit was specially practised to insnare the Admirall. And it is certainly true, that the Admirall was oftentimes admonished, both by wordes, and also by letters, not to adventure him selfe into great an assembly, and that too within the walles of Paris, where the Guises were in great fauour and estimation.

And amongst other admonitions, one deliuered vnto him a booke the summe & scope wherof was this. Remember that this is a decree of the Catholikes confirmed by authoritie, That there is no faith to be kept with Heretikes: by which name they of the religion are specially called. Remember that there is encla-

An admonition to the Admirall.



sting hatred, kindled against those of the religion, by the ennie  
 of the former warrs: so that there is no doubt, but that the ful  
 purpose and intent of the Queene is, to destroy by all manner  
 of means those of the Religion. That an Italian woman, of  
 the Popes progenie, and of a subtle and craftie wit, can not  
 but seeke all extremities against hir enimies: consider in what  
 schole the king hath bin trayned and brought up: that for this  
 12. yeeres space, he hath learned of his scholemasters, to swear,  
 to blaspheme, to forswear, to ioyne him self with whores and  
 harlots, to dissemble his sayth, his religion, and his thoughtes,  
 to chaunge and frame his countenauer, and to reioyce in  
 blood: that he might suffer his subiects to be slaine like beasts.  
 Thou knowest that the King is perswaded in the doctrine of  
 Machiavel, howe that he ought not to suffer in his realme any  
 other religion than that, upon the which his state standeth: and  
 that he hath often learned this, that it is not possible for his  
 kingdome to be quiet, so long as there are two religions at  
 once in the same. And it is certaine, that hatred is planted in  
 the kings mind being a yong man, and he hath bin oftentimes  
 perswaded by false argumentes, that they of the religion have  
 gone about to waille him both of his kingdome, and also of his  
 life. Thou art deceived, if that thou thinke that the king, or a-  
 ny other such prince as he is, will at any time suffer those sub-  
 iects which shall by warre rise against him, though by no meanes  
 to winne a cause, to see and enjoy the benefite of his lawes. But  
 be thou rather perswaded of this, that this is naturally ingraued  
 in the myndes of kings and princes, to revenge that by force of  
 armes, which is done against them by like force. And that  
 King and Princes will freely breake those covenants, which  
 they have made, either for feare, or for necessity: so soone as  
 those causes shall cease. And that they holde this for a lawe,  
 That those conditions which the Prince hath made with the  
 subiectes, ought not to be kepte, specially when he made them  
 in warre: y sayth ought to be broken for the kyngdoms sake:  
 That they make no conscience to deceyue the subiectes, un-  
 der the colour of a solemne othe.

These

These are the subtile sleights of Princes: this is the discipline to preserve kingdomes. Antonius Commodus, at the last ceasing from his pleasures, spent that time in devising murders against the noble men of his Realme, and at the last determined to kill Iulian, whome, in the sight of men, he loved and revered as a father.

Antonius Caracalla an enimie of Alexandria, bycause certain verses were song against him, commaunded all the young men of the citie to be gathered together, vnder the colour of a muster and to be slayne, and that every souldier shuld kill his host where he lay. Thus the Citie being replenished with murders, he had no other excuse to cloake the same, but to write vnto the Senate, that they had euery one deserved death, and that this answer ought to suffice them.

Lyfander the chiefe Captayne of the Lacedemonians, calling fourescore of the men of Miletus together, vnder the colour of societie and friendship, commaunded them to be slaine. Seruius Galba shewed the like crueltie vpon sixe thousande Spanyardes. Antonius Spinola calling vnto him colourably the chiefe men of the Ile of Corsica to make them a banquet, commaunded their heads to be chopt off.

Charles the seventh King of Fraunce, after he had reconciled himselfe with the Duke of Burgundy, and confirmed the same in a matrimoniall leagure, had also solemnely sworne to forgive all things past, sent for him to the towne of Montreuil, vnder the colour of friendship, and there slue him. There are many other examples, from among the which I have taken these few, to the ende thou mayest knowe that the King being a young man, hath diligently learned that doctrine which is contained in the .xv. chapter of that Booke which concerneth the doctrine of a Prince set forth by Machiavell. Euen as it cannot be vnknewen vnto thee, that the kyng the very same day that the Queene of Nauar came to y<sup>e</sup> Court of Blai, jestingly demanded of the Queene mother, adding therinto according to his manner, a blasphemous othe, if he had not behaued himselfe exceeding well. To the which y<sup>e</sup> Queene

Jo. viii.

c. iij.

answered



answered agayne, that he had begon very well, but it woulde profit little except he went forward. But I will (sayth he) ad-  
dyng hys accustomed oathes, byng them every one into  
thy nette. These are the Kings wordes. Hereby it may  
bee gathered, what the ende of these familiarities and friend-  
shippes will bee, shewed towards thee and to other noble  
membe of the Religion. Take diligently to thy selfe: and  
bee assured that there is no other remedy for thee to escape  
theyr snares, than to get thee away betimes from thys  
Court, whyche is a most fylthy and uncleane Sodome.

THIS Booke beyng red, the Admirall answered with  
angry words the man, in whose name the same was offered,  
That these things serued not the time, that they mighte haue  
bin spoken conueniently in time past: but now there was no  
cause remayning of suspicion: God had altered the Kings  
mynde: hee woulde neuer beleue that suche falsehood could  
haue place in his Kynge mynde: nay he was perswaded that  
Fraunce had neuer a better King than Charles the ninth: and  
that although the Duke of Anjou were an enemy to the  
Religion, yet at the last hee woulde forsake that hatred,  
for the reuerence sake of that affinitie whiche hee shoulde haue  
with the King of Nauar. That a league was made with  
Englande, into the whyche also hee minded to enter with  
the Princes of Germany whiche professed the Religion, to  
shewe hys affection towards the Religion, intending to  
haue in hys company one of the sonnes of the Countie Pala-  
tine, and some one of the noble men of Englande whiche  
was zealous in the Religion. That he had giuen his sayth to  
the Prince of Orange and to his brother, to ayde hym a-  
gaynst the Spanyardes, in so much that he was the chiefe and  
efficient cause of the preparation of warre into the lowe coun-  
tre. That in stead of the Armie whiche was committed to  
the conduct of Mons. Genlis, a newe supply was prepared:  
that the affayres of the lowe countrey were in good case.  
That the Kynge's Ambassadour dyd dayly aduertise hym  
of the counsailes of the Duke of Alba. That the same Pa-  
ule of

uite, of which Mons. Strozzi and Baron de Guard haue charge, is prepared for no other end than to remoue the Spanish nauie, and to goe with speede to Vlishing to the Prince of Orange, that there may be open warre in the lowe countrey. Finally, that the Kyng did all things with greate care, for the confirmation of peace, by the benefyte whereof, there was no doubt but that the affayres of the Religion shoulde haue good successe. Wherefore hee prayed him and all others of the same opinion, that they woulde not trouble his mynde with those suspitions, beeyng occupied with better thynges: but rather that they woulde pray vnto G D D, that he woulde byyng that to good effect whiche was happily begun, to the peace and tranquillitie of the Realme and hys Church.

ABOVT the same time almost, Mons. Momorencie was returned out of Englande, hauing entred into league in the Kings name with the Queenes highnesse of Englande, concerning that marriage which was intreated in the name of Henry Duke of Anjou, it is vnknownen what hindered the same. It is said that hir maiestie vtterly refused the matche. But howsoeuer the case stode, I am perswaded that God of his singular goodnesse, prouided for hir Maiestie and also for the Realme of Englande, from the whiche hee hath turned away great calamitie.

THE Prince of Orange hauing gotten a great armie, in the which were sayd to be twenty thousand footemen, & eyght thousand horsemen, entred the lowe countrey. At whose coming the Cities in diuers places were yelded vnto hym: in somuch that within a short time he had in his power foure and forty Cities: & the greatest part of Zeland & Holland. Among these cities he had Mechline. In y mean time the Duke of Alba beleaged Mounts, in the which was Lodowic brother to the Prince of Orange, with a great number of noble French mē.

Shortly after thys was the cruel slaughter of the Admiral and other noble men and gentlemen, committed at Paris, and in other places of the Realme, whiche is at large set forth



fourth in the tenth Booke of Commentaries already translated, and therefore here omitted.

AFTER the murder, the king commaunded the King of Nauar and the Prince of Conde to come before him. Who being in his presence, he sayeth vnto them, That after so long time of warres, by which his kingdome hath bin greatly endamaged, he hath found out at the length vndoubted remedies to take away cleane all the causes of warre, and hath therefore commaunded the Admirall to be slayne, the wicked author of mischeuous troubles, and that the same punishment was prouided in the Citie for al lewde and naughtie persons, infected with vngodly superstition. That he remembred what great harme he had receyued both of the King of Nauar, and also of the Prince of Conde, who were the Captaynes and ringleaders of desperate persons, and seditiously helde warre against him: to reuenge so greate iniuries he had now cause and occasion offered him. Notwithstanding he sayd he would forgiue matters past and done for their ages and consanguinities sake: deeming that they were not so much to be blamed as the Admirall and other mosse mischeuous persons theyr counsaylers, who eyther already had bin punished for their desertes, or else were now vnder the same. These thyngs therefore he sayd he would pardon, vpon condition that they would euer after amend their former faultes with more faythfull obedience, and would returne to the Religion of the Catholique sayth, that hauing renounced the doctrine of prophane superstition, whiche had already caused so great troubles and warres, they would wholly imbrace the auncient Religion, and returne to the lap of the Church of Rome. That he would euer after haue but one onely Religion imbraced in hys Realme, and the same which he had receyued from hys ancestors. Therefore he willed them to consider whether they would obey in these thyngs, or else suffer such punishment as theyr fellowes had done.

The King of Nauar being abashed with these sharpe speeches, answered humbly vnto the king, that hee remembred  
his

his fayth, and the consanguinitie lately entred with his maiestie: and that he would do those things whiche might please and content his minde: most hartily beseeching him to consider how great a thing a mans conscience is, and how hardly he could renounce that Religion, whiche he had learned, and in the which he had bin trayned vp from a childe. Notwithstanding he spake these things with great submission & feare.

The Prince of Conde perceyuing the present perill, answered the King, but not without feare of mind, that his maiestie had so solemnly giuen his fayth to him and to the rest of the Religion, that he could not perswade him selfe, that he would breake so faithfull an oath, nor harken to the counsailes of his aduersaries. And as touching y<sup>e</sup> obedience which his maiestie required of him, and which he had euer hitherto saythfully shewed to the same, he minded neuer to forsake it during life. But as touching the Religion, he had free leaue of y<sup>e</sup> king to exercise the same, and from God the true knowledge therof, to whom he knew he shuld giue an account for y<sup>e</sup> same. Adding y<sup>e</sup> him selfe and all that he had was in the kings power. And he willed him to do what soeuer pleased him both with his life and also with his goodes: yet neuerthelesse he was fully determined neuer to depart from that Religio<sup>n</sup>, which he knew for certain to be true, though it were to y<sup>e</sup> present perill of his life.

The King was sore offended with this aunswere of the Prince of Conde: and calling him obstinate, seditious, and the sonne of a seditious person, telleth him that if he do not repent him within thzee dayes, he should suffer death for his peruerse obstinacie.

There were spared also certayne of the household seruantes of the king of Nauar which were gentlemē, mon<sup>s</sup>. Grammōts, Durase and certayne others, which promised that they would do, whatsoeuer the king commaunded them. These being neuer earnest louers of the Religion were pardoned, that they might be instruments afterward to withstand the same.

This garboyle and bloudy sturre being thus made in the Citie and in the Castell, there were left as yet those whiche



Mongomerie  
escapeth with  
others by  
flight.

dwelt and abode in the suburbs, and some of the nobilitie, as M. Chartres, Mongomeri, Briquemauld, Beilouez, Fontene, and diuers other noble men.

Commaundement was giuen by the king to the Prouost of the marchants, to haue a thousand armed men in a readinesse to intercept those of the religion whiche were in the suburbs of Sangerman. And hee had giuen the whole charge of this matter vnto M. Marcell one of the chiefe Magistrates of the citie. Notwithstanding the prepared souldiours came not at the hour apointed, through the negligēce of y<sup>e</sup> said magistrate.

The king had appointed M. Mongeron chiefe ouerseer of the execution of his purpose. He looking for his souldiours, and seeking for the Duke of Guise, to complayne to him of this matter, certaine houres were spent.

In the meane tyme, one of the Religion seeing the citie all on a roare, running vnto the riuer, got in conuenient time a boate, and so cut ouer the riuer, and certified Mongomerie of the trouble in the citie. This was about five of the clocke.

Mongomerie gaue M. Chartres to vnderstand hereof: and so by opening the matter from one to an other, it was generally knowne by and by to all that were in the village or suburbs. Notwithstanding it seemed almost incredible. The greatest part beleued that the king was not priuie to so great wickednesse: so farre they were from thinking that it should be don by his commaundement: other some bring as yet perswaded of the kings good will, thought that the kings owne person was assaulted by the Guyes, for the hatred that they bare to the Religion, whiche he seemed to fauour.

Therefore amidst this varietie of opinions, they knew not themselves what waye they were best to take. Some thought it beste to goe oute of hande to the kyng to the Castell of Lowre, least they myght be deceyued of the kynges will: other some sayde, that it was needfull and necessarie for them to goe and ayde the kyng: The thyrd and myser sorte, nothing doubting but that this was done by the kings commaundement, betooke them to flight.

But

But while they made delay, they might easily haue bin taken, had not an other impediment happened.

The Duke of Guise seeing that he coulde not haue a band of souldiours of the Parisians, they following the praye and spoyle, deuised a newe way, whiche was, that he woulde goe himselke with certaine souldiours to the suburbs of Sangerman, while the shot and spearemen of the kings garde gaue an assault from the riuer, vpon the whiche stode the suburbs, oueragainst the castell of Lowre.

But his purpose and deuise toke not effect. For when the Guise woulde haue gone forth with his souldiours, he was constrained to staye, the porter of the gates hauing deliuered the wrong keys, the other not to be founde. Before therefore the keyes coulde be brought, suche delay was made, that M. Chartres, Mongomerie, and others escaped away, and yet not without further perill. For they saue on the other syde of the shoare bandes of souldiours appoaching to shippe, and hearde cryes made from the Castell, that they fledde: and saue also greates shoare of shotte discharged at them, bothe from the Castell, and also from the shippes. Also it is sayde, that the kyng hym selfe, stode vpon the top of his tower, crying and swearing, and dischargyng shotte. Then they whiche were in the suburbs, leauyng all theyr goodes, roade away without bootes and spurres, wyth as muche speede as possible they coulde. They were scarce out of sighte when the souldiours were landed on the other syde, who brake into the houses, and toke their pray. Nevertheless they whiche fled, were pursued by the Guise, by Duke d'Aumale, by the Earle of Engolesme, and others to Monfort, which is distant from Paris the space of cyght leagues. Whereupon he returning belayed the countrey, that suche as fledde away mighte bee taken. Thus certayne of the noble menne of the Religion were preserued.

Also the Lorde Alsier, mons. Sanroman, Cugier, and dyuers other noble men and Gentlemen, were saued by the Guyles meanes: To thys ende and purpose, to laye all the enuye



and blame vpon the king and people, as though it had bin his only purpose to reuenge his owne priuate spight vpon the Admiral, and also that they whome he had saued in so greate perill, might for euer by such a benefite be bound vnto him: the which in deede came to passe.

THE Munday following, whiche was the. xxv. daye of August, the Sunne shined very bright and cleere. Wherevpon the king looking out of his windowe of the Lower, cryed with oathes that the saye daye did reioyce for the slaughter of the Hugonots. Thus also sayd other of the court: And Iames Carpenter by a publique bill called this bright day, the lyghte of August.

About noone in the Churchyarde of Saint Innocent there, sprang vp a byemle bushe, which the Frenchmen call white thorne, contrary to the time and season of the yeere. Of the which when the people heard, they ran thither in greate number, to see this straunge miracle, the like whereof hath not bin seene. Some say that this was made to growe by the practise of a certayne Priest, whiche is not vnlyke. But the common people sayd, that God by a manifest signe did approue the murder lately committed: and that now both the Catholique sayth, and also the kingdome of Fraunce had reconered theyr former glory, and shoulde after this triumphantly flourish. Therefore the trumpets sounded in diuers places of the cite. Notwithstanding it is certayne, that the like kind of white-thorne or hawthorne, sprang vp about the same time in other places also: whether it were long of the temperatenesse of the season or no, I knowe not. Many seriously alluding to the names of the things, affirmed the white thorne sprong vp to the commendatio of the Innocents, & not to approue the murders, because it flourished in the place which had to name S. Innocents. But if so we mark this miracle, what other thing doth the same signifie vnto vs than this, That albeit the Church seemed by this deadly wound to be quite slain, yet notwithstanding it should come to passe, the being reuiued by a certayne singular & extraordinarie power, should flourish, & shuld firmly stand amidst

amidst these overthrowes. It is not farre unlike the myracles shewed to Moyses in the bush, the which though it were set on fire, was not consumed.

THE King and the Queene determined by their priue counsell, to haue this murder proceede against other cities also, thereby mynding to destroy utterly them of the Religion, least monf. Momorencie, by their helpe and ayde, shoulde take in hande any newe enterpryse. He at this time was gone apart to Insuladam, a towne of his dominion. D'Anvil was at Paris, who with the rest of his brethren, had drunke of the same cup with the Admirall, if they might haue bene brought altogether within the compasse of the same snare. But it seemed not a sure and safe way to kyll one, and to leaue the reste of the brethren aliuie in so great power, of the house and stocke of Momorencie.

The Thursday folowing, being the right and twentie of August, the King commaunded a Iubile, and a generall procession about the citie, in the which he in his own person, with the rest of the Court was present, to giue God thanks openly as they sayd, bycause their enterpryse had such desired successe.

The same day the King caused it to be openly published, that he was the authour of that murder, forbidding the vse of the reformed religion throughout his whole realme, untill he had taken other order: notwithstanding, he sayd that he wold not haue these things so to be taken, as though his Edictes of pacification were broken. And this is the summe of the sayde late Edict.

The King desiring that all his peeres, noble men, gentlemen, and others, might vnderstand the true cause why the Admirall and his adherents were slayne of late in this citie, bycause it may otherwise be reported than truth would, he certifieth all men generally, That what so euer was done herein, was done by his expresse commaundement: and not for Religions sake, or by any manner of meanes, to breake his Edict of pacification, which he woulde haue to stande in full force, and to be faithfully obserued and kept, but that he might pre-



„ Went the wicked conspiracie of the Admirall and his felowes,  
 „ against his person, his royall dignitie, his mother, his brethren,  
 „ the King of Nauar, and against the Princes and other noble  
 „ men which were in fauour with the King. Therefore he gi-  
 „ ueth all menne to vnderstande, that he willet and com-  
 „ maundeth all those of the Religion, to liue in securitie and  
 „ peace at home with their families, vnder his protection and  
 „ garde, as they had hytherto done.

„ And he giueth straight charge and commaundement to all  
 „ gouernours of prouinces and other officers, that no man doe  
 „ oppresse them of the Religion, eyther in life or in goods, vpon  
 „ paine of death. Notwithstanding, his will and pleasure is, to  
 „ take away those troubles and offences, which may growe by  
 „ sermons and other exercises of the Religion, that none of the  
 „ Religious, noble man or gentleman, of what state and condi-  
 „ tion so euer he be, shall haue any priuate or publike assemblies  
 „ for no cause, vntill he hath otherwise prouided: vpon payne of  
 „ losse both of life and also of goods.

„ The which things, howe well they doe hang together, all  
 men may see. The King sayth heere, that he would haue the  
 former Edictes of pacification stande in force: and yet neuer-  
 thelesse, forbiddeth holy sermons and other assemblies, vpon  
 payne of death. He affirmeth, that he would haue all men to  
 liue in peace and securitie at home: and yet notwithstanding,  
 he playnely testifieth him selfe to be the authour of murders.  
 And as touching the conspiracie made by the Admirall, and  
 the rest which were at Paris, they themselves, which take part  
 with the Catholikes, do scorne it as a forged lye.

G R E A T murders were committed at Lions, and in di-  
 uers other cities: so that within one monethes space, there  
 were at the least three thousande men slaine: But of all the  
 rest, the wicked and cruell murder, committed in the citie of  
 Paris, in the kings presence, exceeded and farre passed the rest.

A N D al gouernours of prouinces obeyed not those bloudy  
 commaundements, giuen by the king. The Countie d'Tende,  
 answered the kings commaundement, and his letters sealed  
 with

with his priuie seale, saying: That he did not thinke this to be the kings deede, but the deede of such as forged and pretended his name, for that a fewe dayes before, hee had receyued quite contrarie commaundements by the kings letters. And he affirmed that he would obey those first letters, as meete and worthy to proceede fro a king, & would fulfil the same as the kings vndoubted commaundement. As for the other commaundement (sayth he) it seemeth so cruell and barbarous, that he would not obey the king if he were present to commaunde the same. Notwithstanding, this Countie d' Tende, fought stoutly in the former warre, against those of the Religion.

He which brought these letters and this bloudy commaundement to Countie d' Tende, was called monf. d' Mole, a gentleman borne in Arles, who within one yere after, was beheaded at Paris by the kings commaundement.

Countie d' Tende, within fewe dayes after being at Auinion, was by some of y<sup>e</sup> kings appoyntmēt poysoned to death, Countie de Retz being appointed to succeed him. Mons. Santherā gouernour of Auuergne answered to the same cōmandement, y<sup>e</sup> he wold not obey contrary cōmaundements, being coloured and cloaked vnder the kings name: affirming therfore, that he wold satisfie the first of y<sup>e</sup> two, for that it agreed with y<sup>e</sup> kings dignitie, & with his Edicts, & that he was no hangman, but y<sup>e</sup> kings lieftenāt, to gouern y<sup>e</sup> kings subiects to equitie & peace.

The ninth day of Septēber, the king being troubled with a sodaine feare, cōmaunded his armour to be brought, and the captaines of his guard to come vnto him: he sweareth that he hath determined to destroy those y<sup>e</sup> remained of the of the religion: willing the to go euery man to his charge, for he would first beginne with the prince of Conde. Then the Queene his wife intreated him, that he would not rashly take in hande a matter of so great waight. The king being perswaded by the earnest beseeching of his wife, laide aside his armour, and dispatcht his guard. The day folowing he called before him the Prince of Conde, and offered vnto him three things, of the which he willed him to chose one: that is to say, *Mass Death,*



of perpetuall imprisonment. To this choyce the Prince of Conde answered, that by the ayde and assistance of God, he would neuer chole the firste: and that he left the other two to the Kings will and pleasure. But at the last he was by the meanes of one Rozarius, a Minister sometime of the reformed Church of Orleans, drawne to that abiuration, the copy whereof is set down in the tenth booke of Commentaires. By the subtile persuasions I say of this man, he did fall away from the truth, and openly renounced the Religion, and went to the Masse, and to other rites of the Romishe Church.

Thus by the example of the Prince of Conde, and the king of Nauar, many whiche were accounted of the Religion, fell from the same. And the King of Nauar and the Prince of Conde, solemnly set forth their defection, by the Kings commaundement. For when they had renounced the Religion at Paris, they sent letters vnto the Pope, in the which they declare, that to their great sorowe and grieve, they haue bene drawne away from the felowship of the Church by that false doctrine, even from their childhoode, the blame whereof they layde not vpon their parentes, but vpon those wicked men whiche had seduced them. Notwithstanding, they sayde it was come to passe in good time through the goodnesse of God, that they shuld acknowledge their errour, and seriously detest the same in mynd. Therfore they humbly beseeched the Pope, as a father to forgiue them their former offences, and to receiue them againe into the bosome of the Church, and they would shewe euer after all such obedience, as became reuerent children to shewe: and that it would please him to certifie them by his letters, whereby their consciences might be assured of pardon graunted.

Therefore the Pope sent his pardon to the Prince of Conde, and to the King of Nauar, that they might not onely fight vnder his banner, but also might be at continuall warre with the reformed religion: such was the calamitie of those times. After this, the King of Nauar made an Edicte concerning them of Bearne, concerning the abolishing of the reformed reli-

the poynt paddon to  
kings piences  
what he in gins  
them vnto

Religion. By the commaundement of the Ducene of Nauarre his mother, when she was alieue, the states of Bearne assembled themselves together to take order concerning religion, and by the free consent of the states, the Masse was abrogated throughout all the dominion of Bearne.

Whither the king of Nauarre sent Mons. Grammont wyth authoritie to preferre the Edict, by which he forbade all that were within his dominion to vse the reformed religion: notwithstanding he gaue leaue vnto them of the Religion to sell away their lande, and to provide for themselves in the space of one yeare, and then to go whither soeuer they would.

THE Pope hearing of these murthers, went himself with his whole Colledge of Cardinals, first of all to the Church of S. Marke, and gaue verie large thanks vnto God. Then the next day after, he celebrated a solemne Masse, and commaunded a Iubile. Thanks were giuen to God for the destruction of the enemies of the truth, and of the Church in the realme of Fraunce: for the victorie gotten against the Turks: and also prayer was made for the kingdome of Polonia, that the king might proue suche a one as woulde seriously defende and mainteine the Catholike religion of Rome.

In y<sup>e</sup> Euening there was a tryumphat peale of Gunnes in the Castell of Santangell, and the French men which were in the Citie made diuerse ioyfull bankets in many places of the same: as though nowe after so long contentions, a full conquest were made, and the euerlasting peace and tranquillitie of the Church of Rome gotten.

The French men had also a generall procession aboute the Citie: in the which the Pope was present with his whole Colledge of Cardinals, and a great number of dishes according to the custome were carped in the same. A Cardinal also sang Masse in the Church of S. Lodowic, where were a greate multitude of people assembled together.

THERE were also about this time diuerse things written both in French and in Latine, to commend the handling of that murther. Antonius Muretus made an oration at Rome



in commendation of the king, and when he had done, caused the same to be published, commending the king for his haughtie and constant minde, and also for his excellent wisdom.

Pibrachus set forth an Epistle, in y<sup>e</sup> which he maketh a very subtil discourse of al this hystorie, to make the Admiral guilty of treason, and the cause of the Religious hatefull. Notwithstanding he pretended the love of religion, the whiche in tyme past he both knewe and had professed, and had afterwarde abused the same.

There was also an other Epistle spreadde abroad of Peter Carpenter of Tholose a lawier, who bring a counterfeit professor of the religion, spake euill of the Admiral, & of the whole cause: The which Epistle was answered by one Franciscus Portus, a godly man, and expert in the Greeke tongue. Therefore amidst the tragical mournings of them of the Religion, these were the triumphs of the Catholikes.

THE king also celebrated the order of S. Michael, which was a feast dedicated to those noble men whiche were of the order, who bare about them the order of S. Michael fighting with the diuel. At this feast were many noble men: and among the rest, the king of Nauarre, and the Prince of Conde.

THE xxvij. day of October, the Senate of Paris pronounced a sore sentence agaynst the Admirall being dead, and agaynst his memorie and children. He was condemned as one guiltie of treason: as an enimie to peace, and a common troubler of the state: as the authour of a conspiracie agaynst the king, and against the state. His memorie was condemned to everlasting ignominie. And to the ende there might remaine some monument of those faults, it was decreed that his bodie if it could be found, should be drawne through euery streete of the citie, after it had stood in the Market place foure and twentie houres, and if the same could not be found, then his Image should be made stuf with straw, and so be drawne in stead of the same as aforesayd, and so to the place of execution called the Foxkes of Montfalcon. It was also decreed that his Armes, Crest, and Shield, should be drawne in like maner to the fore named

named place: And that in what places soeuer they were found, they should be broken downe by the hangman as a token of his euerlasting ignominie. Also that all his goodes that either he or his aunceters had receyued by the benefite and liberalitie of kings, whether they were moueable or immoueable, should come vnto the crowne. His children were pronounced vnnoble and base, and unworthie to haue anye publike office, or to enioy their goodes, which if they had any within the Realme, they were confiscate to the king. His chiefe house Chastillon, was beaten downe to the ground, that neuer any thing might be buylded there againe: The trees of the Orchard were cut downe, and the Gardens about the sayde house turned vpside-downe: and it was decreed that a brasen pyller should be erected where the house did stande, with this decree of the Senate in the same.

It was also decreed that the xxliij, of August every yeare, there should be a generall procession about the Citie, to giue thanks vnto God, and to celebrate the memorie of that day, in the which that cruel murder was committed.

AMIDST these troubles, many of the Religion whiche sought to prouide for the safegard of their conscience and life, fled into foraine nations. Some into Englande, Germanie, Strausburge, and Heidelberge: also others into Switzerland, to Basile, and to the towne of Berne, to Lausanna, and to other Cities: and the greatest parte to Geneua. Also Rochel, Mountauban, Nismes, and certaine Cities in the Countrey of Viuretz, and Seuenatz, were left as places of refuge, as wee will declare hereafter.

The two sonnes of the Admiral by the singular prouidence of God escaped imminent destruction, and the Countie Laual the sonne of D'andelot, with the daughter of the Admiral which was Thelignies widow, came to Geneua, after that to Berne, and tarying certaine monethes at Basile, they returned to Berne againe, being very longly enterfeyned of the people.



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# The eleuenth Booke of Commentaries, concerning the tem- porall and Ecclesiasticall state of the Realme of Fraunce in the raigne of Charles the ninth.



Whilest the whole Realm of France was wonderfully distract and confounded, by that horrible and butcherly murder committed, and amidst the violence of contrary motions, when as some triumphed as conquerers, and other some being overcome, were ouerwhelmed with sorowe and grieve, all men for the most parte, whether they were Ca-

Anno domini. 1572.

tholiques, or of the Religion, were sore afeard and astonyed. For the sperbrandes of furies dyd burne even in the very triumph of victorie the authours and chiefe instruments themselves of that detestable slaughter: in so much that they being as it were out of their wittes at these fyrste beginnings, pretermitted many occasions, by whiche they mighte haue brought their purpose about conveniently. Notwithstanding the outrage to bring their cruell purpose to passe pricked them forward, that the Religion might be utterly destroyed and extinguished in the kingdom of France. But their diuelish counsayles had quite contrary successe afterwarde: diuers practises also were vsed on both sydes, as we will declare hereafter in order.

A generall  
fearre infused  
that horrible  
murder.

Furthermoze, y<sup>e</sup> horroz and feare of that garboyle was spread to all those countreys bordering vpon France. Strasburge very carefully held watch and ward. In Switzerlande the Cities of contrary Religion, Helwed them selues playnely to stande in feare one of another: and there were in dyuers partes musters made, and rumors spread abroad for truth, That if the Kyng made a perfect conquest of hys subiects, he woulde soone ciuill

Switzerland  
and Germa-  
ny disquieted  
with the  
troubles of  
Fraunce.

A.

discozds



discordes in Switzerlande: that a nation not onely excelling heretofore in ciuill concord, but also hauing gotten great authoritie and credite with the kingdomes, bordering therevppon, and selling their friendship for greate stipendes and summes of money, shoulde contende and be at warres in it selfe. They of Bern seemed most of al to be assalted, whose power is gret among the Switzers, by reason of the amplexes of their populous dominion. The cause of discord was, for that the Cities in Switzerlād, which were named to be of y<sup>e</sup> Religion, seemed not to cōdescēd and agree to giue vnto the king a band of Catholiques, to ayde him to rase and rote out for euer the remnant that remayned of them of the Religion, bycause they did much abhorre that butcherly murder of France: for that seemed both to be againste the Religion, whiche they professed, and also to tende to their owne priuate perill: as, when that the King had destroyed hys owne subiects he myght cause troubles and tumult in Switzerland, by the meanes of the townes in the which the Catholiques inhabited: who were very desirous to receyue the Kings pay: notwithstanding what happened afterward we will declare anon.

**Provision for warre.**

BY THE Kings commaundement horsemen were dispatched and sente into all partes of the Realme: and euery man receyued charge, to watch and ward diligently. Also the Gouernours of euery prouince had commaundement not to be absente from their charge at any tyme without the Kings assured commaundement, to looke diligently that there arose no tumultuous trouble, and with all care and industrie to seeke and lyft out narrowly all conuenticles and assemblies of suche as professed the Religion, and severely to punish them.

**The greates dissipation of them of the Religion.**

IN all partes of the Realme, and in euery Citie of the same, they were apprehended whiche kept their houses vpon trust and assurance of the Kings Edict. Many were slayne and put to death, and all men had their goodes put to spoyle by the Kings officers, euen as if they had bin enemies lawfully banquished. Notwithstanding, many escaped and fled into forrayne nations. There was scarce one man founde which professed hymselfe to be of the Religion: all were eyther in exile, or hydden in

in corners, or els (sauing a few) constrained to forsake the Religion, and to lyue more catholykely than the Catholykes them selues.

THEY of the Religion beeryng after thys maner banquished, there seemed nothing to remaine but their vtter destruction. Whereupon the Kings officers were not so forward in theyr assayes as els they would haue bin, thinking that they did but lose their labour in a matter most easie to be finished.

Crueltie  
somewhat  
mitigated.

Notwithstanding an armie was prepared, and the King by his letters instantly required Monsieur Beleur (whiche was bys Lidgar in Switzerlande for the same purpose) to sende with all speede a band of Switzers.

FOR there remayned as yet certayne cities, whiche were held and garded by those that were left of the Religion, as Rochel, Sanxer, and in Languedoc, Montauban, Castres, Nismes, Milliaud, Aubenac, Priuac, Mirebel, Ganges, Anduz, and certayne other townes of no fame, in the territozie of Viuaueretz, and Seuenats. Notwithstanding it seemed to many, yea and to the most part of such as professed the Religion, greate folly ioyned with madnes, after so great a slaughter almost of all y<sup>e</sup> professed y<sup>e</sup> Religion, y<sup>e</sup> kings power being nothing deminished, & hauing y<sup>e</sup> whole kingdom redy at his comandemēt, for the to enterpryse & presume to defend them selues against y<sup>e</sup> armie of so mighty a king, after so great cōsternatiō & feare, whē as not only none of y<sup>e</sup> Princes, but also not one noble mā almost was lefte in Frâce, which durst so much as professe the loue he bare to y<sup>e</sup> Religion.

Those Cities  
whiche were  
held by them  
of the Reli-  
gion.

There were also, and that not a few, whiche sayd that it was great wickednesse & vnlawful for subiects, hauing no authoritie from princes or chiefe magistrates, to beare armour agaynst their king though he were wicked, that by y<sup>e</sup> effect and successe it selfe it had appeared, that the forcible resistance of them of y<sup>e</sup> Religion hitherto was vngodly, though it were collected by the authoritie of the princes, and by lawfull titles, both for that the king was in his minority, and also because the breaking of the kings Edicts might be lawfully punished, for that the kings wil was in expresse words declared: That in this enterpryse all

The purpose  
of the Reli-  
gious condē-  
ned of many.



things faile, and that the king is a man : that there wante Princes to whome the authoritie of gouerning the kingdome shuld belong: and that the king doth playnely professe, that he wil not hurt them of the Religion, but that he commaunded that murder to be committed with purpose to destroy the Admiral and other the chiefe authors and instrumentes of the warre, that the kingdome afterwarde might remaine in peace. And that although in this matter he exceeded the rule of reason, yet it was not lawfull for the subiect to rebell against him, or for the subiect to punish his lord and king for his offence. There were also some which vtterly condemned the gouernment of the prince of Conde and of the Admirall, in their actes and exploits of the yeeres past : and through the enuie of the lamentable successe, haue brought y<sup>e</sup> whole cause in hatred. And those false accusations of Carpenter and Pibrach (in their Epistle to that famous man Stanislaw Heluidius) were oftentimes obiected by exulcerated and gauled mindes, to make the remembrance of y<sup>e</sup> former warres detestable. So that a man woulde haue thought that the Religion had bin extinguished for euer in Fraunce: and concerning this matter, many of them disputed with odious wordes, whiche in time of the former warres, had highly commended the causes to take the same in hand. And thus calamitie was counted for great reproch and shame, such is the greater rashnesse of men in iudging of matters.

Those few of  
the Religion  
vncertayne  
what to doe.

ALSO, in those Cities, whiche as yet had not receyued the Kings Garrisons, these dissensions were very ryfe: and the Citizens being distract and vncertayne what to do, seemed not so much to delay and deferre the Kings Garrison, as to spend the tyme, to the ende that every one myght get for him selfe y<sup>e</sup> more conuenient oportunitie and occasion to flee and escape away, or els to get fauour agayne: thys was the common will and purpose of the Townesmen.

Constat purpose of d: fecce.

Notwithstanding God bled the diligence of a fewe, to bring the rest to a constant purpose: and the feare of the cruell murders committed, perswaded the people to defende them selues, that for so much as they were in vndoubted perill of death, they myght,

myght, if it so pleased the Lorde, chouse the moze honest kinde of death, by the lawfull right of necessary defence, the Magistrate him selfe vrging them therewith.

**THEREFORE** amidst so many and so great difficulties and extremities, it seemed impossible that Religio should stand by any manner of meanes: and so euermlasting destruction seemed to be broughte vpon the Churches of Fraunce. In these straits of great calamitie, the prouidence of God, of such beginnings as were so weake, and so farre from the iudgemente of humane reason, made a way for so much moze glory, as the disorder and confusion of all thinges was past hope of recoverie. The chiefe Captaynes were gone, the ayde and help of fozeine Princes wanted: yet notwithstanding the present helpe, and helping fauour of God in due tyme, fayled not. Yet for all that there remayne suche greate things of so weake and feeble a beginning, euen vntill this day, that this same seemeth to be especially the counsaile and finger of God, that the force and strength of noble men beyng cut off, he alone mighte be counted the author of his worke, and mighte make manifest his manyfold wisdome in this worke. I may not dissemble, (and in making this a pzeface for the narration to come, I swaue not from my purpose) both those noble men and ringleaders, which tooke vpon them by ordering and defence of this cause, and also in part, they of the Religion themselves in the former yeeres past offended many wayes. Much disorder verily and many faults came by the ciuill warres, in somuch that among those of the Religion, the puritie of Religion beeing contaminated and defyled with true occasions of true accusations, was euill spoken of. For it is well known that the Admirall him selfe, in those former warres, protested, not once, but often, That he had rather dye any kinde of death, than he would be counted any longer a Gouvernour and Captayne of such a leaue and wicked route of common souldiers, most unworthy of the bare name of Religion: for such he knew many of his band to be. God therefore iustly punished those men which abused his Religion: neuertheless hee dyd not, neyther wyll hee leaue unfinished the worke

A notable myracle of this fourth motion, after the murder.

The Admirall misliked the wickednesse of his souldiers.

A. iij.

which



which he hath begonne. But is there any man so blynde which seeth not, what great punishments remayne for those, which for the mortall hatred they beare to the poore Religion, haue set to theyr helping hand, to commit a most detestable fact, seeing that to fyll vp the measure of extreme wickednesse, all shewe of right and equitie is set asyde, in so much, that there remayneth no excuse for the same? But to returne to our purpose agayne.

THEREFORE, this fourth warre is more wonderfull than the three first, bycause of most weake and feeble beginnings it had greater and more notable successe: in so much that when the Prince of Conde, the Admirall, and other noble men wyth helpe and ayde from foreyne Princes, tooke part, no such woorthy effectes ensued: the reason and grounde of the cause neuer more evidently shyned, from out of the deepe pit of extreme calamitie, without any ayde of strangers, and wythout the meannes of greater helpes, than it shall appeare by the comemoration of this historie. This then was the Kynge's state, and this was the case of them of the Religion, after that butcherly murder committed on Saint Bartholmewes day, being the fource and twentie of August.

For (as we haue sayde) that small remnant of them of the religion were brought to this exigent, that seeing them selues far vnequall to matche with the Kings power, they were ready of their owne accorde to yelde them selues into his hande. Notwithstanding, when they sawe that murders were committed vpon them of the Religion, with no lesse crueltie than before, in dyuers citie, all they which were in the Kynge's power, and in the danger of the Catholiques, beganne to loke about them, and at the length to deuise some honest way, whereby they myght defende them selues. So that in the deepe desperation of all thyngs seruing for necessary defence, desperation founde out a way, and a sure and certayne perswasion to bring the same to effecte, supplied most effectuell reasons of defence in this confusion and nakednesse. The happy defence of Rochell, dyd not a lyttle incourage the myndes of other men, to fyrm and valiant constancie. First of all therefore we wyll begynne with Rochell;

Rochell : and then we wyll speake generally of the rest in order.

MONSIEVR Strosi, and the Lorde de Garde, receyued charge to take Rochell, and we haue oftentimes sayde, that a nauy of shippes was prouided there already to the same end. Pollicie vsed  
to take Ro-  
chell.

They then goe about to get in their souldiers into Rochell, sometime vnder the coloure to buy marchandise, and sometime vnder the coloure of visiting theyr frindes. Notwithstanding, they of Rochell were alway vigilant and warie : and hearyng of the cruell murther committed at Paris, caused more dilygent watche and warde to be kept. In the meane tyme, monsieur Strosi and de Garde, byged them of Rochell, with the authoritie of the Kyngs letters, both to receyue into the towne the Kyngs garrison, and also to gyue vnto them great plentie of victuals to turnysh their shippes.

This they of Rochell, denyed and withstode, that the nauy myght departe from thence : affirming that they dyd nothing agaynst their dutie and auncient pryuyldges, by whiche they were exempted from al garrisons, sauyng from that which they should leaue within their owne citie, and wherby they had leaue to defende them selues by force of Armes, and that they coude not spare any of their prouision of victuals.

Then they which were for the Kyng, founde fault with the townefmen of Rochel, bycause many came vnto them from diuers partes of the realme, and were receyued into the citie without any let. To this they of the towne answered, that they admitted no strangers, but onely the inhabitantes of the realme, whiche came about their affayres and marchandise, the whiche was nothyng contrarie eyther to their office or custome, whereas the Kyngs souldiers had leaue to come into the citie.

They were also required by the Liefetenant of Guian, monsieur Monpaz which was their neighbour, not to shew theselues obstinat & wilful, in refusing to receiue the kings garrison, shewing them that the king was carefull for their safetie, and that therefore he dyd so prouide for them : and that it was not lykely that he woulde bying any detryment or damage to bys Opties : also that he had iustly punished the wyckednesse  
of



of Rebelles by the slaughter at Paris: not minding continually to be seuered against his subiects. Therefore he affirmed that it was moze for their safetie to deserue the Kings fauour by obedience.

There came certayne noble men of the Religion to Rochell from those places whiche were nearest adioyning thereunto, as from the territories of Santonge, Onic, Poictou, and Lymosin, which sought the safetie of their life: there came also about these fyrst beginnings, about fye and fiftie Pastors or Ministers of Churches: and of the common sort of people about a thousande and fyue hundred souldiers, out of dyuers parts of the Realme, and many which were escaped from the slaughter of Paris.

A Solemne  
fast appointed  
in Rochell.

The nyth and eleuenth daye of September, there was appointed at Rochel a common and solemne fast to be helde, the whiche rite the Church obserued in olde time in time of trouble, to a laudable and fruitefull ende.

They of Rochel hauing obtayned at the hands of Monsieur Strossi, and Baron de Guardes safe conduct, sent messengers vnto the King, beseeching him that the name mighte bee remoued from that parte by his commandement, for that the countrey thereabout had receyued great dammage thereby.

THE King had gyuen commandement to Monsieur Biron a noble man to gouerne Rochel: who (as we haue sayd before) had taken great paynes in the former warres, about the intreatie of peace. This noble man delivered to them of Rochel very friendly and louing letters, by which he exhorted them to obey the king, and to commit them selues quietly to his trust, bycause he had receyued authoritie from the king to gouerne them: in so doing they shoulde see by pprove, that he esteemed nothing moze than of their safetie.

Strait after this came Monsieur Audenarz, a noble mā also, in the Kings name, with very large letters of the Kings, in the which the king exhorted them to shewe theyr obedience, giuing them to vnderstande that hee determined in his minde nothing moze, than to keepe and defende them, in their houses in peace and safetie, vnder the gard e warrant of his Edictes: requiring them

them hereupon to acknowledge him to be a true and saythfull interpreter of his owne minde.

Monsieur Audenarz being admitted into the Senat of Rochel, perswaded very much to this ende and purpose, certifying them of the singular good will of the king towarde them. He promisseth that the king wil graunt them the libertie of Religion, vpon cōdition that they would receyue Monsieur Biron, and woulde graunt free recourse and trafique to all strangers whatsoeuer inhabiting the realme. To this, they of Rochel answered the king by their letters, the true copie whereof, is as followeth:

The answere of the Gentlemen, Captaynes, Burgeses, and other beeing in the towne of Rochel, to the commaundements that haue bene giuen them in the name of the king, to receyue garrisons.

**W**E the Gentlemen, Captaynes, Burgeses, and others, now being in the towne of Rochel, doe giue answere to, such commaundements as are giuen to vs in the name of his Maiestie, that we cannot acknowledge that the same which is, signified vnto vs, and the publishing of the proclamation requied at our handes, doe proceede from his Maiestie. And, thereof we call to witness his Maiestie himselfe, his letters of the .xxij. and .xxiiiij. of August, his owne signet, and the publishing of the same letters, by which his sayde Maiestie layeth, all the fault of all the trouble lately happened, and of the cruel slaughter done at Paris, vpon those of the house of Guise, protesting that he had ynough to doe to keepe himselfe safe with, in the Castle of Loure, with those of his garde. And we shal, neuer suffer our selues to be perswaded, that so foule an enterprise, and so barbarous a slaughter hath at any time, entred into the mind of his maiestie, much lesse that the same hath bene, done by his expresse commaundement, as the paper importeth, which you haue exhibited vnto vs, nor that his Maiestie hath, bene so ill aduised, as himselfe to cut off his owne Armes, or, to defile the sacred wedding of Madam his owne sister, with,



the shedding of so much noble and innocent blood, and with  
 the shame of so cruell a fact to distaine the nation of France,  
 and the blood royal which hath heretofore euer among all na-  
 tions borne the name of franke and curteous: nor that he hath  
 had minde to deliuer matters to wryters to set forth a fragical  
 hystorie, such as antiquitie hath neuer heard spoken of the like,  
 and such as the posteritie cannot report without horroz. But  
 that it was first layde at Rome, and afterwarde hatched at Pa-  
 ris, by the Authour of all the troubles of France. And how-  
 soeuer it be, we are readie to maintaine that out of the mouth  
 of his Maiestie doeth not proceede whote and colde, whyte  
 and blacke, and that he doth not now saye one thing, and by  
 and by another, as he shoulde doe if the Paper that ye pre-  
 sented vnto vs had passed from him, protesting that hee wyll  
 inuiolably kepe his Edict, and immediately breaking the same,  
 in declaring that he commaunded those murders to be com-  
 mitted, haniug also made protestation before, that it is to his  
 great greefe, and done by the outrage and violence of those of  
 the Guise, agaynst whome he was not able to make resistance  
 in tyme, as his Maiestie desired. And in this quarrell, we the  
 Gentlemen, Captaynes, and other that make you this answer,  
 are readie to trie it by combate, man to man, or otherwysse to  
 mainteyne the honour of our king agaynst all those that so  
 prophane holy things, and as much as in them lyeth do by such  
 words and tytles byllanously defile the excellencie of his ma-  
 iestie, and of the noble princes of his blood. Which wee may  
 right well coniecture and estimate, by the slaughters that are  
 yet in doyng, as well in the towne of Paris, as else where,  
 vpon so many noble men, gentlemen and other, men, women,  
 and children, & vpon a great number of yong scollers (the main-  
 tenance vnder God, of Realmes and common weales in time  
 to come) and by many other barbarous, vnnaturall, and vn-  
 manly actes generally committed. We thinke therefore and  
 iudge that herein treason is enterprysed agaynst the person of  
 his Maiestie, and of my Lords his brethren, & that the Guisians  
 meane to inuade the crowne of the realme, as they haue of long  
 tyme

tyme practised: and howsoever it be, we say that his Maiestie is,  
 forced, by the power that they haue taken vpon them and vsur-  
 ped, by meane of the rebellious styre of the commons of Pa-  
 ris. As for that which they say that the Admirall and those of,  
 the Religion had conspired agaynst the kings Maiestie and,  
 his brethren, these be allegations of as great truth and of as  
 good likelyhooe, as their manner of proceeding in iustice hath,  
 bene orderly, beginning at execution before the examination of,  
 the fact. But it is now no nede to tary for tyme to discouer it,  
 for the matter is plain to be sene with eye & groped with hand,  
 and all those of the Romishe religion that haue remayning,  
 any drop of nature of man, do confesse it & holde downe theyr  
 heads for shame, cursing both with hart & mouth the cruel exe-  
 cutors of this abhominable enterpryse, & the wicked disturbers  
 of comon quiet, which can yet no more suffer, than they hitherto  
 haue done, that this poore realme should long enioy the benefit  
 of that peace, which the king alone next vnder God had wisely  
 caused to be made, & to be accordingly obserued, whereof this  
 realme began to feel the good tast, to the great contentment of al  
 persons, except the enemies of peace & of this realm, namely the  
 Guisians. Finally, whē his maiestie being out of their hands &  
 power, shal declare what is his pleasure, we wil endeuer vs to  
 obey him in al things, wherein our consciences, which are dedicat  
 to god alone, shal not be wounded, in which case we wil rather  
 forsake y<sup>e</sup> earth than heauē, & our fraile & transitorie houses, ra-  
 ther than the heauēly mansions. But hitherto the law of nature  
 & the dutie that we owe vnto our natural prince, to the preser-  
 uation of his crown, & to the safetie of our liues, our wiues, and  
 children, doth comaund vs to stand vpon our gard, and not to  
 put vs in the mercie of those that haue receiued the same bloudy  
 comission from the Guisians vnder the pretended name of the  
 king, to vse vs in y<sup>e</sup> same manner as they haue wickedly, trayte-  
 rously, & vnnaturally done to those about his maiesty, and as it  
 were vnder his wings & vnder the skirts of his robe which the  
 trayters strangers haue stained w<sup>th</sup> the true French bloud, w<sup>th</sup>out  
 that his Ma. hath bin able to remedy it, nor to slay their cursed  
 attempts:



attempts: so much lesse is he able now so farre off to defende vs as he woulde, which his Maiesties good wil being knowne vnto vs, doth arme vs for our defence, and for the safegarde of our liues, and of the priuiledges which he hath giuen vs, vntill such time as he shall be able by himselfe to defende vs against his enemies and ours.

This answer being made by them of Rochel, Monsieur Audenarz caused them to sende vnto the king, putting them in hope to receiue an answer in due and conuenient time. Therefore they sent with him another to intreate with the king on their behalfe.

And Monsieur Audenarz, according to his charge, left nothing vndone to perswade them of Rochel to yeelde themselves vnto the king, all the while he abode there, making vnto them many fayre promises, thinking that as he had done therein his faythful dutie towards the king, so they also should do him no lesse seruice.

Monsieur Biron came to the Citie, & verie diligently visited those noble men of the religion, which as yet kept their houses, and with vehement speeches seemed greatly to detest those murders committed, earnestly requyring them to perswade with the Citizens of Rochel, to put themselves into his garde and tuition, which should be (as he sayd) for their profite.

He sent the kings letters to them of Rochel, by whiche he commaunded them to submit themselves out of hande to the gouernment of Monsieur Biron, and to obey him.

Monsieur Biron also procured the king of Nauarres letters to be sent vnto them, dated at Paris the tenth day of September, in the which he required the lyke at theyr handes, and very greatly commended Monsieur Biron.

Wherevpon, they of Rochel sent two messengers to Monsieur Biron to salute him: for they stood doubtfull what to doe, whether they should receiue Monsieur Biron yea or no: for it was reported that they of Rochel would incline vnto him, the which to do was not without great perill.

Monsieur Biron talking with the messengers of Rochel in a  
secrete

secrete place, bewayled and lamented wyth many teares the outrage of the murders committed, shewed how greatly he was grieved for the same: and gaue thanks vnto God that his name could not be registred and expessed in so infamouse an hy storie: desired the messengers to certifie Rochel from him that he wished them to consider in what peryll they were: and that they should wisely vse & take those meanes for their safetie which God offered vnto them, least they repented them to late with great dammage: that they alone were not able to stande agaynst the Kings power, the whiche beyng complete was ready to vanquish and ouerthrow the remaynder of them of the Religion: shewing also that this was the only remedie, for them to submit themselves to hys authoritie, or at least to admit and suffer hym with one or two more of his trayne, to come into the towne, that he might thereby certifie the kyng of theys obedience: the whiche beyng done, he would byng to passe, that they shoulde sustayne no hurte by the kyngs Armie, but would out of hande dispatch away the Paule, which was prepared to assaile them by force.

There were also certayne of the chiefe Citizens, whiche fauoured Monsi<sup>r</sup> Biron: and his iudgement was well lyked of the two messengers, who returnyng shewed bothe the imminent mischiefe of the great perill, and also that the onely remedy to withstand the same rested in the counsaile of M. Biron, whome report blased not only to be dispayned and defiled with horrible furies of murders, but also that he himselfe was brought into great peryll: Notwithstanding in this matter he did onely make a counterfeyte lamentation, to pleasure the kyng, euen as aforetyme he had employed his mortall labour in perswading the Admirall. Neuerthelesse it is certayne that the name of Monsi<sup>r</sup> Biron was wyrtten in the bloody booke, that he might haue his parte with others in the butcherly murder of Paris. Therfore, to get vnto hymselfe the kyngs fauour by some notable seruice, he went about to yeelde by the of Rochel vnto the kyng: The which if it had come to passe, it had bene a hundred to one, that the extreme slaughter shoulde haue made a lamentable



mentable ende of that remnant of the Religious, so that not one should haue bene left aliue. But Rochel was a great let to hinder those mischieuous counsailes & practises, & occasions to preuaile notably were offered to them of the Religion, both by these delaies, & also by y<sup>e</sup> happy successe of y<sup>e</sup> affayres of Rochel.

The messengers as wee sayde beyng come into the towne, tolde the matter vnto the Senate: and as they were in consultation deuising what way they were best to take, worde was brought to the Maior of the Citie, (which is the chiefe gouernour) that Shippes were to be seene at the promontorie or poynt commonly called Chef d'Bais: the which beyng entered the haueu, by the comandement of M. d'Guard, letters were brought also, by which he giueth them of Rochel to vnderstand, that he was certified by the kyngs letters, that Monf. Biron would be at Rochel the same day with powder: & admonisheth them to take diligent heede that they gaue him honozable entertaynment as it was agreeable to his person: and withall to remember that they had to do with a great and moste mightie kyng, of whose goodnesse it should be better for them to taste, than of his feneritie, for that he inteded to punish them accordyng to theyr deserts, which would impugne and resist bys comandements.

Rochel refuseth to receiue Monsieur Biron.

At this very instant, while they hong doubtfull and knewe not which way to take in these extremities, & the open threatnyngs of Monsieur d'Guard, hauyng confirmed the increased opinion concernyng the kings will in this poynt, they agreed and concluded with one consent not to receyue Monf. Biron, & that vpon this occasion. At the very same tyme there came a messenger fro Montauban with letters, by which they certified them of Rochel, y<sup>e</sup> Castre a citie in Languedoc, the which was held by them of the Religion, & after many sayre promyses of the kyng concerning theyr safetie beyng yelded into the hande of Monsieur Creuset a noble man dwelling vnto them, was sacked, and the Religious in the same most cruelly murdered.

Amidst so great distresse, they of Montauban were sore afraid and very careful concernyng theyr owne priuate peril: & they admonished them of Rochel what they were best to do

in

in so great extremitie, namely, to take wyle deliberation. The present peryll of the inhabitants of Caſtre, troubled and diſquieted them of Rochel: wherebpon they determined not to receyue Monsieur Biron, vntil ſuch tyme as they had prouyded for theyr owne ſafetie and ſecuritie: of which theyr determination they gaue Monſ. Biron to vnderſtand out of hande.

MONSIEVR Biron aunſwereth them agayne, that he was very ſory that they were bent to that which would bying theyr owne deſtruction: yet notwithſtādyng he ſayd he would hyde the matter from the kyng by ſpeciall excuſes, vntill ſuche tyme as they had aduiſed themſelues better: willyng them not to hurte themſelues by this dangerous determination, and to beware leaſt theyr raſhe wilfulneſſe turned them to diſpleaſure: Finally he promyſed that he would endeouour hymſelfe all that he coulde to perſwade the kyng that the Naue might be diſmiſt and ſent ſome otherway.

LOVING letters were ſent vnto them againe from the kyng, the Queene mother, and from the Duke of Anjou, by ſeuerall meſſengers, though the letters tended to one effect. The kyng ſought to perſwade them of his ſingular good will towards them, and promyſed vnto them al fayth & humanitie in preſeruyng them. They of Rochel anſwere by letters agayne, They giue thanks vnto the kyng, and beſeeche him that he would commaund the naue to auyd that coſte, for they were in ſuch great feare at that preſent, that they knew not what to do. The which if it would pleaſe the kyng to cōmaunde, they myght certaynly aſſure themſelues of the kyngs good will towards them, and ſhould alſo the more dueſtfully obey him.

By reaſon of theſe delayes of the kyng, occaſion was giuen to them of Rochel to caſt away feare, and to take vnto them better courage: wherreas if the kyng had ſet vpon them with all his force at the firſt bynde of the murder, theyr ouerthrow had bene the more lykely.

Therefore being admoniſhed by common counſayle, & being taught both by the general euill, & alſo by the preſent example of the men of Caſtre, they of Rochel prepare themſelues to theyr



theyr defence. They make, accordyng to the maner, new Magistrates: they create Captaynes for the warre: they muster men, both of the towne, and also forreyners which came thither for refuge: they appoynt that certaine ministers and also strangers shoulde be of the counsaile concerning matters for the towne. Monsieur Sanstephen a noble man was made general of the hoysenien.

The Captaynes were of moze fame, as Monf. Essarz, monf. Riurier, Monf. Lyzi, Monf. Norman, Monf. Virolet, Monf. Nouel, and diuerse others, whose names we expresse, bycause of the siege folowynge.

A gayne Monf. Biron sent letters to them of Rochel from Broage, a famous haven where the Hauke roade: Monf. Strossi, and Monf. d' Guard sent letters to them also: but the letters of monf. Biron were moze friendly than the other: in the whiche he affirmed that he woulde procure the kyngs commaundement for the dismissing of the Hauke, so that they of Rochel would promise to the kyng to obey suche gouernours as he woulde appoynt ouer them. Monsieur d' Guard wrote moze sharply vnto them willyng them to receyue one condition or other, eyther of peace or of warre: affirmyng that the kyng shoulde haue his authoritie by eyther.

They of Rochel answered, that many things were promysed them, but little or nothing performed: that it was euident to all men what great cause they had to imbrace & loue peace: and what dammage and hurte they had receyued by warres, and therfore how greatly they ought to deteste the same: That they had hearde oftentimes, that the kyng was very carefull for theyr safetie, yet notwithstanding the kyngs officers byd annoy and endamage them very muche, and that they in the meane tyme behaued themselves modestly and obediently towarde the kyng, as all men might see.

Monf. Biron and d' Guard practised after the same manner by letters: and caused Monf. Ouarz a noble man of that part, and named to be of the religion to wyte to them of Rochel after the same effect, and to shewe in howe greate perill and  
daunger

danger they were in: and to admonish them to beware least by their obstinacie they call them selves into present destruction.

Joan de la Roche  
admiral

The King also commaunded monsieur Durans, whyche was a Solicitour in the affayres of Rochel (being at the same tyme at Paris) to goe vnto Rochel, & to perswade y<sup>e</sup> Townesmen to receyue monsieur Biron, and with him he sent to them of Rochel louing letters of bountifull good will.

Monsieur Thecan, the chiefe gouernour in y<sup>e</sup> Senate of Paris, wrote vnto certayne of his friendes of th<sup>e</sup> chiefe Citizens, that they would take diligent paynes in this matter, & would bring to passe that they of Rochel myghte receyue the conditions offered by the king.

They of Rochel write vnto monsieur de Guard, complaining both of the sundry dammages done vnto them in time of y<sup>e</sup> intreatie of peace, & also which wer yet done vnto the dayly.

AMIDEST this intercourse and passage of letters too and fro, there was a cruell slaughter made vpon those of the Religion at Burdeaux, vpon whiche occasion they of Rochel demanded whether they could looke for peace, seeing violente and outragious murders were still committed, and seeing assaults of greater and more behemēt slaughter were made vpon them. For the Shippes of the Marchants of Rochel, which had made their voiage and were returned from forrayne countries wer diuersly spoyled, and their marchandise taken from them.

Burdeaux.

Now the kings power, with open warre assailed them of Rochel, in somuche that marchantes were restrayned of they<sup>r</sup> passage and entercourse, and the Kings nauie abode vpon the coast of Rochel, robbing and spoyling all partes thereaboutes, while the Armie whych shoulde come by lande, was preparing.

Open war against Rochel

IN the meane time they of Rochel diligently applied they<sup>r</sup> grape gathering for the wine presse, and brought into the Citie fyue and twentie thousande tunnes of wine, whyche did them great pleasure at what time they were besieged. And all men both townesmen and also strangers laboured paynesfully in

Rochel prepared for defence.



The state of  
Montauban.

in fortifying the towne with rampiers and bulwarks.

AND thus the state of Rochel being known, before wee come to the noble besieging of the same, the order of the story requireth, that wee shewe the state of other Townes also, in the whyche the remnauntes of the godly religious were preserved.

They of Montaubane had the kings letters sent vnto them: notwithstanding they continued in their former purpose, by whiche during all the former ciuill warres they were very circumspect in not admitting any one that came from the kyng, into the Citie: but amidst the greate treasons and lyings in wayte of their neighbours of Tholouze preserved them selues vntill these hard and extreame beginnings.

NISMES, the Townesme not knowing what way they were best to take, was almost ready to bee yeelded vp to the King. Many of the principall of the Religion stole out of the Citie, carying their families to another place, and got themselves into such places as were neere vnto the same. Also some of them hauing forsaken the Religion, got them speedily to the Cities of the Catholiques, hoping thereby the more conveniently to obtayne pardon of the King: and many of them to shew that they were seriously returned to the Catholiques, detested the Religion all that they could with odious words.

MONSIEVR Ioyeuse Lieutenant of Languedoc, writ oftentimes to y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of Nismes, to receyue the Kyngs Garrison: Who, at y<sup>e</sup> first answered by delays, y<sup>e</sup> they would obey the king: yet notwithstanding because of y<sup>e</sup> late murdering of their brethren & fellow partakers with them of the Religion, they had great cause to be careful for their safetie. Notwithstanding Monsieur Ioyeuse perswaded them of the singular good wyll of the king by his letters often times affirming y<sup>e</sup> they should liue quietly & in safetie by y<sup>e</sup> benefite of y<sup>e</sup> kings Edict of peace.

The richer  
soft mind to  
yeeld by the  
Citie.

There is in Nismes the Kings court kept, notwithstanding it is lawfull for a man to appeale from the same to the Senate of Tholouze, in the whyche Citie there was more plenty of Lawyers, and more store of rich Citizens,

Many

Many of them were almost at the same poynte, to yelde them selues in tyme to the Kyng, and with speedy obedience to win the kings fauour.

Notwithstanding the greatest part of y<sup>e</sup> common sort of people, & certayne also of the chiefe men, (among whom was Monf. Clauson a Counsailler of y<sup>e</sup> court, who as he was wise & godly, so also he was of great authoritie) withstode this purpose, not minding to put the selues into present perill of death: And lest those of the kings side shuld take y<sup>e</sup> Citie, and let into the same y<sup>e</sup> souldiers which wer vnder y<sup>e</sup> conduct of Monf. Ioyeuse which lay in waite about the citie night and day, & sought diligently al occasions to take y<sup>e</sup> same, the said monf. Clauson himself very carefully held watch & warde w<sup>th</sup> the townsmen of y<sup>e</sup> gates of y<sup>e</sup> citie, least any mā shuld come in or out w<sup>th</sup>out their knowlege.

The better  
part of the  
Religious  
mind to hold  
the Citie.

Monf. Clauson, being the author of this manly & wise purpose, notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> he was a learned & graue man, yet he endeuoured him selfe to play the souldier, hauing alwayes a diligent eye in gouerning the Consulls (for so the Magistrates of the towne are called) least any treason shoulde be wrought by those which were enclined to y<sup>e</sup> king, he gaue the souldiers their watchword, appoynted to euery man hys charge & place, viewed the walles rounde about, and was very diligente and necessary about all things apperteyning to a Captayne.

THE people assembled together in the Guild haule by the warning of the Consulls oftentimes. And then the most wise men and of greatest experience, consulted what was best to be done: they looked one vppon another, doubted what to determine, and deuising many wayes coulde lyke of none to take.

Variety of  
counsailes.

The greatest part of those whiche were counted wysest, disliked the purpose to defende the citie againste the force of the Kings army, as proceeding from bolde and madde rashnesse most perillous: thinking that better meanes might be deuised, by which the Citie might be yelded vp, and so a general safety provided for: & wishing that this way shoulde be taken w<sup>th</sup> al speed. Notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> authors themselves of this counsaile, while these things wer in consultatio<sup>n</sup>, went about to provide



privately for their families, and caried them out of the citie: and they them selves went out also by heapes.

In this diuersitie of contrary Judgements and affections of all sortes and estates of men, the dissensions diuersly rising betwene the people and the gouernours, seemed out of all doubt to make a way and entrance for the kings power: and amidst these controuersies, to geue occasion to the enimie suddenly to overcome them to their great calamitie & destruction.

NOTVVITHSTANDING thys purpose preuailed, namely, that there shoulde be no hast made in this matter: that consultation shoulde be had about the same hereafter: that God most assuredly woulde ayde hys seruants in hys owne cause: but if so be they must susteyne the force of their enimies, and suffer death, that nothing coulde happen more better vnto them: and that the same shoulde be farre more tollerable, than to put them selves into the handes of murderers, of whome they mighte looke for the same pardon whiche they had giuen to others of the Religion in Paris, in Lions, in Tholouz, and in dyuers places els. Therefore that it shoulde be a more honell and easie death whiche they shoulde suffer in defending their selves against the violence of theyr vnjust enimie, than to be slayne and executed by the hangmen: That the same defence was iust both by the law of God and man, that they used not violence in setting vpon the enimie, but withstood iust violence with iust defence. That theues and murderers were armed in the Kings name and by the kings authoritie: and that therefore they withstood not the king: That if they dyed in this defence their death shoulde be precious before God, and haue the honour of martyrdome. And that there is no doubt but that God at the length will haue compassion vpon them, and will help them by one way or other vnlooked for, that patience and prayer was needefull, that in delay there was lesse perill, but in haste there was moste presente destruction: seeing by delay those occasions myghte growe, whych myght geue them abilitie to byng notable thyngs to passe. Monsieur Clauson declaring these thynges at large, it was agreed by the consente of the

the greater number, not to receyue at all the kyngs garrison, but to tarry for a more conuenient time: and yet notwithstanding to occupy the mynde of monsieur Ioyeuse with conuenient answeres.

THE N, they certified the indwellers of Seuenatz and Viualetz their neyghbours (which wholly depended vpon them) of their purpose, and exhorted them to constancie of mynd, and to a better hope. For they were assaulted in like sorte by the kyngs instruments. Monsieur Leuger a noble man, and knight of the order was sent into Viualetz to take and hold the same.

IN these first beginnings they of the religion, helde these towne Aubenac, Priuac, Pusi, Villeneuve. Notwithstanding, it was not long ere the Catholiques had taken Pusi, the conuenient situation wherof much annoyed the. And monsieur Leuger practised this way to take Villeneuve.

Villeneuve is but a small towne, yet notwithstanding, it is situate very conueniently for that part: being appoynted for a lower court, from whence the appeale is to Nismes: and it belongeth to the kyngs Exchequer. The Religious of Villeneuve, agreed with the Catholiques of the towne to ioyne together, and to defende one another with mutuall heartes and handes: saying, that they were brethren and felowe citizens, and that those barbarous and outragious murders, were to be resisted with all their power. And taking an othe one to the other, they indent, that two captaynes should be chosen by generall consent: and that the same should watch and warde day and night by turne: and so, that the Catholiques should haue for their captayne, one of them of the Religion, and the religious a Catholique, to the ende all suspition might be taken away. They of the religion, named for their captayne monsieur Baron: and the Catholiques named for the monsieur Mirambel, both good and expert Captaynes. This good and laudable purpose had yll successe: by which it appeareth how yll two Religions agree together, and abyde in one seate.

The towne men thinking that they had heereby prouided

Villeneuve taken  
by treason.



very well for theyr safetie, and they of the Religion being perswaded of the fayth of the Catholiques, are thereby neglecting theyr businesse, behold, the cytie was taken by monsieur Leuger thus.

Captayne Mirambel tolde monsieur Leuger that there was an easie way made for hym to take the citie: in so much, that he should onely neede to approche somewhat nearer the citie, with some ambushmētts of souldiers, & so cōmyng to the gates of the citie, he should be let in by hym, promysing so to order the matter, and to appoynt such warders about the gates, that he should easly haue his purpose.

Monsieur Leuger preparing his souldiers out of hand, drew neare to the citie, and came with a troupe of horsemen vnto the gates: gaue monsieur Mirambel to vnderstande, that he was come thither with the kings power, commanding him vpon his allegiance to set open the gates vnto him. There at that time monsieur Biron walked before the gates vnarmed, with certayne of the chiefe townesmen: him all amazed monsieur Leuger saluted, at hys so sudden cōming vpon them. Monsieur Mirebel commaunded the gates of the citie to be set open: and monf. Leuger entred the citie: then the armed troupes of the Catholiques came flockyng rounde about hym, he fortifyeth the gates: and by and by the troupes of horsemen and of foote men whych stayed at a byllage harde by, ranne vnto hym.

Amydst these salutations, the Catholiques, and they of the Religion sleepe together vnto him, monsieur Biron stalle away priuily, and came to the next towne by, called Mirebel, which was by the Kings Ediēt an appoynted place, to receive the holy assembles of the professors of the Religion of Villeneuse, and tolde to monf. Pradel a noble man, whose lande lyeth in and about that place, what had happened in the citie: and so they agreeing together, took them to the Castell of Mirebel, which after ward did them great pleasure.

Monf. Leuger at the first, intreated the chiefe of the Religion very gently: seeking to perswade them that his purpose

pose was to gouerne them wyth peace and equitie, vnder the protection of the Kyngs Edicts, and to trouble no mans conscience. In the tyme of this truce, many that professed the Religion, stole awaye to Mirebel, and fortifyed the same out of hande. By the meanes heereof, Villeneuse being afterwarde recovered (as we wyll declare heereafter) dyd greatly further the affayres of the Religious in Languedoc. Of the whiche I speake particularly, that men may vnderstande and see, of howe weakc and small begynnings, the affayres of the Religion grew and tooke so good successe.

The inhabitantes of Aubenac and Priuac, followed the counsell of the cytizens of Nismes, concernyng the wayes of defence. Notwithstandyng, that monsieur Leuger in the meane tyme, bryged them to receyue the garrison. They neuer made playne denyall, nor yet admitted the Kyngs garrison: but they so handled monsieur Leuger, that for theyr money, they should buy and delay the tyme of receyuing the Kyngs garrison. For this cause the Consulles of Aubenac, hauing obtayned truce at his handes, wente to Villeneuse, and payed the money required. Notwithstanding, one of them beyng a verie honest and ryche Citizen, named Valerton, and of the Religion also, was helde captiue by monsieur Leuger, against the lawe of Armes, for that he came vnder trulle, and was put also to his raunsome, euen as if hee had beene taken in battell, the whiche beyng payed, hee was helde captiue neuerthelesse, vntyll suche time as Villeneuse, whiche they of the Religion had taken, was deliuered vp to him, as wee will declare heereafter. These experimentes of Catholique falsehoode, confyrmed the Religious, as it were in obstinate constancie, in so muche, that they chose rather to suffer any thing, than to come into the handes of theyr false forsworne enemies. This was the state of many places in Languedoc.

AND bycause they of Nismes were bryged oftentimes by the letters of monf. Ioyeuse, to abstayne from holy Sermons, accordyng to the forme of the kings Edict: lest by that occasion they

The example  
of falsehoode  
in the Catho-  
liques.



they might be founde guiltie before the king : after deliberation had of the matter, they determined for the present necessitie, not to haue Sermons in the day time, but in the night. It can not be expressed, howe muche weeping and lamentation the people made at that last Sermon. Yet neuerthelesse, men came to the preaching of the worde more plentifully and earnestly than they dyd before : for the more that afflictions doe increase, the more precious is the word of God vnto the godly.

The inhabitantes of Viualetz and Seuenaetz, folowed the example of the citizens of Nismes : in those cities whiche they helde, they had theyr Sermons in the night, the whiche notwithstanding, continued but for a fewe dayes.

The answer  
of the citizens  
of Nismes.

NEVERTHELES monsieur Ioyeuse was not contented wth this argument of obedience : oftentimes hee byged them of Nismes, to receyue the kings garrison : the whiche if they would doe, he promised them that within fewe dayes, they should be both free from the same, and also should haue libertie and peace, both of body and conscience.

The citizens of Nismes answered very copiously in writing, that they coulde not receyue that garrison, shewing the reasons wherefore : not that they refused to obey the king, but that they myght provide for the safetie of their life, and for the libertie of theyr conscience : Bycause such occasions had already salne out, as seriously required them to seeke the same at this time. Therefore they beseech monsieur Ioyeuse, not to interpret the same otherwyle than they purposed and meant. That they desired nothing but peace and tranquillitie, and to shewe their obedience to the king. That if so be lawfull remedies might be provided to take away theyr iust feare, they were ready to yelde them selues into the handes of the kyng theyr Lorde and Prince. But if so be old treasons and snares were practised, and if so be they could obtayne no more than they had obtayned in tyme past, they were ready to suffer all manner of extremitie, rather than that they would willingly cast them selues vpon the cruell and bloudy swordes of spoiling murderers : for that it was great madnesse, for any man willing.

willingly to cast him selfe into peryll. Then hauing amplified the iniquitie of those murderers committed, and also hauing declared the dishonestie of the foresheued falsehode, they shew that it is lawfull for Christians, both by al law of God and man, to defende them selues againste force and iniurie: and that they doe not beare armoure agaynst the kyng, but againste theues and murderers, furiously abusing the authoritie of the Kings name, without punishment. That they dyd plainly perceyue what they them selues were, and also what, and howe great the force of their enemies was: That present death was before their eyes, but yet that they did not doubt, but that God, which is most righteous and iust, would helpe them miserable wretches in due time, that eyther they might defend their lyfe against the violence of murderers, or else by martyrdome, myght dye an honest death: the which should testify to al posterities for euer, both howe great the iniquitie of their enemies was, & also howe great their constancie and vertue, in standing strongly & valiantly, in a good & godly cause. That they committed the successe of y<sup>e</sup> whole matter vnto God, and that this was their only ioy in so great perplexitie, namely, that they were vniustly afflicted: also that they were encouraged by the testimonie of a good conscience, the happy successe whereof they looked for, both in lyfe, and also in death.

ARMIES were prepared in the Kings name in dyuers places, in Languedoc, in Guian, in Dolpheny, in Prouance, countreys bordring vpon Languedoc, for the war of Languedoc. Preparation of war against Languedoc. Notwithstanding, they of Nismes were firste assaulted, the whiche being destroyed, the Catholiques thought that the rest would more easily giue place. Also d'Anuil was looked for to come to a power, for y<sup>e</sup> he hath chief gouernment of Languedoc. They of Nismes prepare for their defence al that they can, they fortify the city, ouerthrow the suburbs, as hurtful to the same, carry in victuals, and do diligently set al things in order, eue as if they should be besieged by the diligence and prudence of monf. Clauson. Notwithstanding, Nismes was not besieged by y<sup>e</sup> kings power: the occasion whereof we will shew in order.

D.

Now



The state of  
Sanferre.

**N**ow we are in this place to note the state of Sanferre, which we sayd the relygious held also, at the first beginning of the cruell slaughter, whose constancie in wonderfull extremities, is worthy to be remembred for ever. The history of these our times, is ful of many and of such rare examples on both partes, the whiche we will briefly note accordyng to our purpose, obseruayng so much as we may the order of tyme.

They of Sanferre, beyng styred vp with the newes of that horrible slaughter of Paris, and beyng assaulted wyth continuall lyings in waite of the bordering enimie, kept theyr cite wyth diligent watch and warde: thither those of the Religion whiche were escaped the murders, fled from the places there about, from Burges, (for Sanferre is in the territorie of Berry) from La Charite, from Orleans, from Gijon, and from other places.

Notwithstanding, commaundement was gyuen out of hande to them of Sanferre in the Kings name, by monf. Castres, gouernour of that part, to admit and obey the Kynge's decree, by which he forbad the seruice of the Religion, and accordyng to the fourme thereof, to abstayne from holy Sermons, and to receyue a garrizon to keepe the city.

The same forme of commaundement also, had the same answer of the men of Sanferre, whiche they of Rochel & Nismes had gyuen, as we haue sayd: namely that they neyther could nor ought to receyue the armed enimie agaynst them selues. And that therfore they must waite for that tyme, in the which they myght safely commit them selues to the externall and foraine souldier, also they affirmed, that they were by theyr auncient pryuiledge, exempted from that burthen.

Wherefore they fortify them selues all that they may, and repayre the breaches of theyr walles, whych were sore battered in the former warre. They sende a messenger to the Court, commending theyr cause to monsieur Fontenei, one of theyr corporation and libertie, that he would make intercession to the Kynge for them, and would excuse them. Notwithstanding, all things were prepared for mortall warre, and what happened

happened therupon, we wyl shew when we come to the time and place, belongyng vnto the same.

**I**n Dauphine, they of the religion had not one towne in theyr possession, no not so much as a village. All the citizens were taken by the Kings garrisons: the greatest part of them of the religion, beyng desirous to save theyr lyfe, eyther sayned an abiuration of the religion, or else fled into the next cities of Viualetz, and into foreyne countreys. To tell it is incredible, howe many defections and Apostacies there were in a very shorte tyme, euen in the greatest cities, where the congregations were most peopled. At the first, very many wythout constraynt, euen by the very reporte of the murther at Paris, & at Lions, fel away, and came by heapes to the catholikes: some beyng scarcely threatned, became weakelyngs and turnecoates. So that a man myght see great heapes of hypocrites and dissemblers of the Religion, which frequented the temples, and vsed all the rytes of the Catholiques, euen as it were with stryuing who should be most forwarde.

The state of the religious in Dauphine.

Many fell away from the Religion.

Many of the nobilitie also which had folowed the religion, and had valiantly behaued them selues, in the tymes of the former warres, abiured now the religion: others were dumbe at home, wyth great astonishment of continuall feare, leasse they shoulde be intercepted and taken by monsieur d' Gordes Lieutenant, who notwithstanding, went about to persuaade them of theyr secure and safe estate, and to seduce them from the religion, by louing letters.

The behauiour of the noble men in Dauphine.

**M O N S.** Mombrune, one of the most noble men in Dauphine, came not to the assembly of the funeral mariage. For y<sup>e</sup> prouidence of God reserved him to do him great seruice, as we wil declare whē we come to the time of the same. But he hauing, by his seruice in y<sup>e</sup> former warres, diuers & sundry ways employed, gotten great fame among the of the religion, monf. d' Gordes, at the kings cōmandemēt only, labored to intercept him, fearing that he wold be another occasiō of new troubles.

Mombrune, a noble and valiant man.

Mombrune kept his house: therefore monf. d' Gordes sent verie louyng letters vnto hym, seekyng thereby to persuaade

D.ij.

hym



him of the singular good wyll and beneuolence towarde him. Only keeping him selfe quiet, he should be in rest and securitie, and in the Kings high fauour. Thus Mombrane seemed to many, to haue giuen ouer the care for religion, & to be quite discouraged with the unhappinesse of the time. Notwithstanding he at y last cast aside al negligēce, as we wil declare hereafter

The Kings  
Edict for the  
calling home  
of suche as  
were fled.

THE kings Edict is published, to reduce the home again, which were fled away eyther into forreine nations, or else into those cities, which they of the religion held. That (by the precript of the kings Edict) pardon should be graunted for al things past, to such as would returne home againe, with prouiso for the safety of their life and conscience, so that they would lyue peaceably at home. And in the same Edict, the king threatned those that would not obey his commandement, to make their goods confiscate, as if they were rebels. And he testified, that he did not punish the Admiral and his adherentes, to this end and purpose, that he might shewe lenitie for euer, vpon his subiectes of the newe opinion: (for so he called the Religion) but rather to prouide a necessary remedy for the disordered kyngdome, though the same in outward shewe seemed to be sharpe. Also whereas many of his people through feare, were fled eyther into those cities which the rebels held, or else into forrein nations, that he earnestly lamented their case, eue as it becometh a good master of a house, for y they receiued so much hindrance & losse, by being banished frō their houses. Therfore he willett and straightly commandeth them to repayre with al speede vnto their houses: being assured that they should haue peaceable cōming, so that they came wīn twentie days: & the religious, leauing the cities which they held seditiously, to giue their names vnto the lieftenant of the Province, and to promysse faythfully, that they would be hereafter the trullie subiectes of the king. But if so be they would obstinately absent them selues, and carelesly contemne his clemencie, then to be assured that he would be senere in punishing them, according to their desertes. Also excepte they appeared at the daye appoynted, that hee would confiscate theyr goodes,

to

to the end they myght knowe what it is to abuse the clemencie of their prince: That he did offer and proclayme thys in time, least any man should sustayne the punishment afterwarde for his presumptuous boldnesse and rashnesse.

Thys was published the .xix. of Nouember. But howsoever the kyng by those words of the Edit would seeme to provide for the consciences of the Religious, it cannot be of any wayght or credit in y<sup>e</sup> iudgement of wise men. For a little before many of the kings letters patents were sente abroad thorough out the Realme, by which most vniustly he constrained those, which had not once set theyr foote out of the Realme, and whose condition for that cause ought to haue bin much better, to renounce the Religion, and to embrace Papistrie.

Many there imagined and coniectured that the great masse of money gathered out of the proscription of the Religious, would be sufficiente to mayntayne warre, and so they of the Religion should be wounded with their owne swordes.

Therefore the goodes of the Religious were dayly beewed and put in inuentorie, the whiche is alwayes the beginning of Confiscation, so that the goodes of the Religious beyng absent, were almost put in an Inuentorie, but yet were not confiscated: the cause whereof was the contrary successe whyche the Kyng looked not for. If the Kyng had had such successe in his warre at Rochel as hee desyred, it seemed that confiscations should haue flowed wyth murders beyonde all measure throughout the whole Realme vppon them of the Religion to theyr utter destruction.

Under the collour and pretence of that Edit, the king sought to bring to passe by his Legate mon<sup>r</sup>. Belleure, with y<sup>e</sup> Switzers which professed the Religion, that those Frenchmen of the Religion, which were fled into theyr countrey myght be constrained to forsake the same, for many were fled, especially to Bern and to Basile. Notwithstanding the Ambassadour lost his labour, for they extended still that same humanitie that they dyd before towards those fugitiues.

Almost about thys tyme a daughter was bozne to the king.

D. iij.

Where-

The King  
goeth about  
to dyue them  
that were fled  
for Religion,  
out of Swit-  
zerlande.



The Quenes  
Maestie  
Godmother  
to the French  
kings daugh-  
ter.

Whereupon he intreated Elizabeth the Queene of Englande, that she would promise for his yong daughter in the holy Sacrament of Baptisme, (whiche we call the office of a Godmother.) To this request the Quenes Maestie graunted, and sent the Earle of Worcester into France to the king to be hir deputie for the same. There was no man but he saw well ynough that the kyng at that doubtful time wēt about to coorpy fauour with the Queene of Englande, least she shoulde help the poore Inhabitants of Rochel, and to this end the league was made.

They of Ro-  
chell are put  
to proscriptio  
by the King.

We said before that they of Rochel answered monf. Biron, that they woulde not receyue him into the Citie, before suche time as the kyng hadde prouided for theyr securitie by assured pledges, not minding to come to composition w bare words. But the Kyng purposed to make those at his commaundemēt by dint of sword and open force, whome he could not wyne with wordes and decept. Therefore hee deliuereth letters to monf. Biron, by whych hee banisheth them from his protection and fauour, except they obey this his last commaundement, as Rebelles, traytors, and the troublers of the common peace, protesting that he woulde persecute them with mostall warre accordingly: he commaundeth all hys gouernours and officers to persecute them with warre, and by al other meanes, euē as if they were gilty of high treason: and pronounceth y whatsoeuer they do herein against them, shal be allowed and maynteyned.

At the same time monf. Noe a noble man, and in the former warres one amongst the rest most valiant, came out of y lowe Countrey of Flaunders called Belgic, and was reconciled to the Kyng, and in token of his recovered fauour, the king gaue vnto him the goodes of Teligni, (whose Sister monf. Noe had married) whych otherwise had bin confiscate as the goodes of others that were slayne were in the slaughter of Paris.

The king gaue hym in charge to perswade with them of Rochel, that hee mighte bring them if it were possible to take those conditions of peace which he offered vnto them. They of Rochel wondering at his coming after thys sorte, sente vnto hym their letters of safeconduct, that he might come to y vil-  
lage

lage called Taddon the fyfth day of Nouember, and to do vnto them that message which he had brought vnto the from y<sup>e</sup> king.

Thither came monf. l<sup>r</sup> Noe, and the Burgeses of Rochel, Laguilleir, Rechenart, Villers, and Merelle. Monf. l<sup>r</sup> Noe declared vnto them, that he had receyued commaundemente from the King & Queene, to tel the y<sup>e</sup> it appertayned greatly to thair profite, to yeeld vp the Citie into the kings hand and power, y<sup>e</sup> they mighte thereby deliuer themselves from that destruction, presently like to ensue by the siege at hand, and might also obayne great peace for other Churches, that he propounded thys condition in the kings name, whome if they would admit to be their Gouvernour according to the kings appoyntment, they had free libertie to vse and enioy the Religion.

Monf. le Noe cometh to Rochel.

Notwithstanding monf. l<sup>r</sup> Noe, hauing declared hys good will and loue whiche he bare to Religion, priuately perswaded them of Rochel, to admit none in the kings name into the Citie, before such time as they were sufficiently assured of their securitie and safetie.

The Burgeses of Rochel had onely authoritie and leaue to heare, but no licence at all to determine any thing. Wherefore they returning certified the Senate of the condition offered by monf. l<sup>r</sup> Noe, and monf. l<sup>r</sup> Noe being come into the Citie receyued this answer, That Rochel would not admit monf. Biron, beseeching the king that hee would poynt some other whiche loued the reformed Religion to be their ouerleer, or els to suffer them to lyue peaceably vnder the obedience of hys lawes.

In the meane time monf. l<sup>r</sup> Noe being solicited both by the Senate it selfe of Rochel, and also required by certayne other Ministers of the Church, to imbrace the Religion, sayeth that he was no lesse feruent towards the Religion, than he had bin afore time: and that he determined in him selfe to returne vnto them so soone as he hadde done his ambassage vnto the king. The whiche hee perfourmed within few dayes after, and was louingly enterteyned of them of Rochel.

After this they of Rochel consulted how they might get y<sup>e</sup> Ile of



of Rhe, the whyche was both neere and also commodious for them. The charge to atchieue thys enterpryse was comitted to monf. Essarz. He, beeyng furnished wyth certayne Shyppes loosed from Rochel hauen about the dead tyme of the nyghte, that he myghte deceyue the enimie ryding at anker not farre from hym. Nowe there were come nere to the Citie two Shyppes of y<sup>e</sup> Kyngs nauy vnder a colour to bryng letters to them of Rochel in the name of monf d' Garde: but in very deede they were sounding or plumbing for the depth of the water, for the whych cause they had one wyth them very expert in the same. Whyles they were thus occupied, they were woozded by the Shyppes of Rochel: the whych hauing slayne one of theyr chiefe Cpytaynes, tooke one of the Shyppes, and sente all theyr tackeling and cariage into the Citie, the other Shyp being afeard, escaped away. Then they of Rochel returned into the Citie agayne. Thys was a foetoken that they shuld haue good successe in the warre whiche was prepared against them.

The begyn-  
ning of the  
sege of Ro-  
chell.

**T**HE fourth day of December monf. Biron came to the citie wyth seuen cornets of horsemen, and eyghtene ensignes of footemen, banyng also wyth hym two great brasce peeces, to begin the sege.

In the meane tyme dyuers came dyuersly to this warre fro al parts of the Realme: & of those also not a fewe which aforetime had serued the Prince of Conde in the war, and had now forsaken the Religion, they wyng them selues to be more mortall enimies to the same than the Catholiques them selues.

They of Rochel held those villages that bordered byō theyr Citie, as Maraim, Mose, Nouaille, whych were vnder y<sup>e</sup> charge of Captayne Norman, and Andui, and the Isle of Rhe, vnder the charge of Captayne Virolet.

They determined not to abyde the force of so great an army, but to make hast vnto the Citie: notwithstanding Captayne Norman purposed first to assay the enimie. Therfore he marched south with his bands of footemen, hauing accompanying him only fyftie horsemen, and so approached nere y<sup>e</sup> enimie: but  
beyng

being to wreake, he had the repulse, and was constrained to flie into a Countrey place belonging to a noble man, the whiche notwithstanding was of sufficient strength, and was called Grimelde: whither also Captaine Virolet sought to come.

Then Mon. Biron beset the house, and battered the same with his felde peeces: insomuch that there seemed to be no way for them to escape destruction, had not captain Norman taken this last shift. For he leaving his horses, went forth with his men on foote in the dead tyme of the night, and breaking throughe the scout watchs, got to the citie with his men in safety. But captain Virolet seeking too carefully to save his horses, was taken himselfe: notwithstanding he turned by and by to the Catholiks side, hoping yf he woulde see in that war, he should have great rewards: but the ende falling out otherwise than he was promised, he got him home into Brittain: where within a while after he was slaine, being recompenced with that reward of the new warres.

Then there came dayly new bands of souldiers. M. Strozzi being general of y french footmen toke Pilleborean: M. d'Goast with six ensignes of footemen toke Ronsel: and M. Biron toke Santandre, which were the suburbs of Rochel. These they fortified with ditches and bulwarkes against the sodaine eruptions of those within the Citie.

The townsmen from al quarters, villages and farms nere vnto them, caried into the Citie so much as they could all manner of vittaille: notwithstanding the kings side founde great plentie in those places, for the cariage wherof they of Rochel, had not provided in due tyme.

Bicause the king perceived that those noble men which were come out of other parts of the realme to Rochel would much profit them of Rochel, and would indammage much his intended siege, he assayed those noble men by his letters, promising vnto them, that if they would come forth of the Citie, they should be in safe securitie, and shoulde also receyue a large recompence. Notwithstanding this perswasion toke not effect. For not one of them at that tyme fell vnto the king.

E.

There

The noble men within Rochel are assayed to be brought to defection.



There was a generall fast appoynted at Rochel, according to the vsuall maner of the French Churches.

Monf. Biron went about to breake the chanel and conduyt pipes which conueyed water to the fountain or conduit which serued the citie, therby to take away from the citizens the vse of water. But although they had broke the conduit pipes in many places, yet notwithstanding they lost their labor, by reason of the great plenty of diuers springs which came from sundrie places. By this occasion there was a great skirmish betwene both partes: in the which the Lieutenant of Capitaine Normans bande was slaine, and of monf. Biron's part his Standardbearer called Saintgenez, and diuers other on both sides.

A ship of Rochel being remoued to the entrie or mouth of the hauē, was assailed by the kings ships, but so that they gayned nothing at all therby. They also ouerthrew. iiii. milles which ioyned to the city, and caried from them great plentie of corne, which they of Rochel had by negligence left in them.

**B**ut before we come to the forceable besieging of Rochel, and to enter into a newe yeare, the order of the hystorie begun, requyret that we note by the way what was done in other places by the Religious.

About the end of Nouember d'Annil being come into Languedoc at the kings commaundement, and hauing receyued great charge and commission to warre against those remnants which remayned of the Religion, marched forth with his prepared armies, minding as it shoulde seeme to besiege Nismes. Notwithstanding this occasion disappointed him of his purpose.

There is a little towne nere vnto Montpellier called Sommiron, the which though it be but smal, yet notwithstanding it is of sufficient force & strength, both for the apt situation thereof, and also because it hath a wel defended castel in the same. In this towne mon. Ioyeuse had left certain great hard horses with a garison of certain soldiers, suspecting no force to be offered by them of the Religion, which seemed to be almost dead: but behold, unlooked for a notable captain called mon. Saintgremian took the city, the castle, and the horses of mon. Ioyeuse.

Therefore

Certaine  
milles ouer-  
throwne by  
the Catho-  
likes,

d'Annil  
commeth into  
Languedoc  
with an army

Therefore d'Anvil having given a vain assault to Vzes (the which is an ancient city of Languedoc in the territory of Cursol) & having gone throughout the whole territory of Vzes, having taken the castle of Sangene by surrender, and won a little town called Cauuis, & seeming now to come to assault Nismes with a great armie, he first of all purposed to assault Sommiron with his whole force, least he should have Montpellier a neare enemy unto him, or least he might be stayed from the pray and bootie any longer which lay open to the sight of his armie.

The unhappy  
table swarre of  
d'Anvil in  
Languedoc.

D'Anvil therefore besiegeth Sommiron, omitting nothing by which he might give a strong assault to the same: notwithstanding the unhappy success of that siege as it diminished his strength of the Catholiks in that country, so also it greatly enlarged the power of the of the Religion, which thenceforth began to have better success: and the feare of those first attempts being set apart, they of the Religion behaved themselves in their affaires much more constantly than they did before in the former civil wars: having taken a large & plentiful country, not so much by his forces of great armies, as by diligent painfulness. Sommiron was thus besieged by d'Anvil four moneths: a great masse of money being wasted by the Catholiks in vitalling so populous an army, insomuch that they were weary of war, beside the losse both of common soldiers, & also of those noble men which were mortal enemies to the Religion, being brought thither run as it were against their wills, & they might be slain. To be short they of the religion in Languedoc had an open way made for them, to bring notable things to passe from thenceforth, as we will shew hereafter.

Sommiron is  
besieged.

The state of  
them in Lan-  
guedoc.

Of Santerre we have spoken before. To intercept and take the which, the same subtil practises were used, that were practised in the Cities mentioned before. They of Santerre had intreated monsieur Fontene a certaine noble man (as we have sayde) to speake unto the king on their behalfe, and not to suffer their name to be dishonoured by fraudulent reports.

The affaires  
of Santerre.

Mons. Fontene took this for an occasion to begin greater familiaritie. He sendeth unto them M. Candaillet, a certain old courtier, to assure them of his good will: but that he himselfe was

C.ij.

only



onely earnestly busied in working their safetie, that they might shew all the arguments that might be to the king of thei? obedience. Therfore the men of Sanserre assembled together with monsieur Candaillet, and testified that they will yeelde vnto the king all obedience, requiring one thing onely at his handes, whiche was, that they myght haue libertie of lyfe and conscience, according to the forme of the Edict: for the faythfull performance whereof they sayde that they would yeelde vnto hym an hundred of thei? chiefe Citizens for pledges. Thys was the beginning of greate dissention among the Citizens, whiche almost oppressed the Citie in thys first beginning.

Monsieur Candaillet returned to the Court being accompanied with five of the chiefe Citizens of Sanserre, of which two were Catholikes, and thre were Religious. These had commission subscribed with the handes of the chiefe Citizens, that they would allow and confirme whatsoeuer they did according to the forme of the same.

The Messengers of Sanserre, so soone as they were come into the Court, & had spoken to the King and Queene (whether it were by threatnings, or vpon hope of certaine rewards) craved pardon of the king in the name of al the citizens of Sanserre, whose persons they represented, as though they had grievously offended agaynst him: & beseeched the king that he would send M. Fontene to Sanserre with a power, promising to undertake that he should be welcom to y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants therabouts. Therfore mon. Candaillet goeth before to tel them of Sanserre of the comming of mon. Fontene. The which when they heard, wondering at the matter, & being greatly offended therewith, they assemble themselves together to consult of the same: and at the last accord, That forsomuch as the Messengers had don that thing by the kings perswasion against the forme of their commission, they might lawfully refuse and reiect their act and agreemēt. They send out to meet with mon. Fontene, and to tel him that they are sorry for the rashnesse of their deputies, in that they had caused him to come vnto Sanserre: certifying him withal, that they

they knewe his great good will, for the which they gave hym thanks: promysing that they would yeelde vnto him great honour, and would moste friendly entertayne him, so that he would come to theyr citie in tyme of peace. But forsomuch as it was a troublesome tyme, they beseeched him to take it in good part, that they could not suffer him to come into the citie.

Notwithstanding Monsi. Fontene came to Cosne, a towne two leagues from Sanserre, that from thence he myght the moze conueniently prosecute his businesse. The Deputies also of Sanserre, were returned from the Courte.

Then contentions began to growe among the Citizens about the receyving of Monsieur Fontene. For the Deputies perswaded with certaine of the chief citizens to receyue Monsi. Fontene into the citie: shewing the danger which otherwise might come vnto the towne. On the contrary parte others, but specially forreners, thought it not meete to receyue him.

Monsieur Fontene vnderstandyng that he was most of all resisted by forreners to enter into the citie, wrote vnto them: affirmyng that there was no cause why he should betray theyr safetie: but rather that he had a care for the same. Notwithstanding that it was not meete that through theyr counsaile the miserable townsmen should runne into peril: and that they ought not to be the procurers of them to resist the kyng, sayng if they would they could not. Therefore if they would determine to go to any other place, he would byng to passe that they should be safecōducted whether soeuer they would: for the saythful performāce wherof he sayd they should haue pledges.

The forreners sent two Deputies to M. Fontene, by which they desire that they may haue the libertie of cōscience and the peace and tranquillitie given vnto them by the king according to the prescripte of the pacificatorie Edict, affirmyng that they had done iniurie to no man, but came vnto Sanserre vpon putpose to shunne those murders which were committed in other places, and were receyued into the citie with the good leaue of the townsmen. Therfore that there was no cause why theyr abode should be greuous or offensiuē to any man so



much that they shoulde departe to any other place. To this monsieur Fontene more angerly answered, that he would satisfie the kings commaundement in doyng that which shoulde be for the purpose, and also for the kings dignitie.

Therefore that which could not be brought to passe by pollicie, was assayed by force. Therefore those townesmen whiche thought good to admit monsieur Fontene into the towne in the kings name, by subtile deceite toke the castell: and toke with them into the same monsieur Racam the brother of monsieur Fontene. But when monsieur Fontene was come with his armie more neare to the citie, to put a more strong garrison into the Castell: behold the townesmen which were of the Religion gaue a violent assaulte vpon the castell, by whiche they put the warders to flight and toke the same, euen the same day.

At that time they of Sanierre coulde not with courage enough benche themselves to warre: notwithstanding bring admonished by present peril, they began to arme themselves with courage, and to make preparation for theyr owne defence.

The assayes also of the lowe countrey accordyng to the order of the storie begon, are not to be omitted, but briefly touched.

The Prince of Orange, hauyng an armie well appoynted, prospered well in his assayes in the low countrey of Flaunders, hauyng gotten into his handes the most noble cities, about that time that the murders were committed at Paris.

Therefore when he had taken Mechelme, & Audenard, and constrained Louen to pay vnto him a great summe of money, he came to Mountes with all his power, both to helpe his brother the Graue Lodovic, and also to deliuer the towne compassed with a strait siege by the Duke of Alba.

The Prince of Orange arrived with greate speede to the Duke of Alba his campe: whose comyng by apparance shoulde haue brought great detriment to the Duke of Alba being hemd in on euery side by his enemies: notwithstanding the Prince

The assayes  
of the Prince  
of Orange in  
Belgie.

Mountes re-  
ceyueyth suc-  
cours.

of

of Orange beyng slowe in bidding battayle by reason of the  
impostunate calling of y<sup>e</sup> souldiers for wages, departed with-  
out any attempt giuen. And retyring, the Duke of Alba denised  
to worke him some secreete mischiefe. For the whiche purpose  
he sente after him five hundred well appoynted souldiers with  
caltuer shot, and a troupe of horsemen to follow the pursuite,  
who setting bypon the Princes campe in the night and kil-  
lyng the watche, made greate slaughter with a Canbusadow  
bypon his armie, killyng many, and wounding not a fewe.

When horrible newes of the French slaughters came to the  
eares of the Graue Lodouic, by whiche he and his fellowes  
were not a little troubled, and beyng out of hope to haue suc-  
cours from his brother the Prince of Orange: the Duke of  
Alba also dayly more vehemently assaulting him, the enimie  
beyng repulsd, the Graue Lodouic began to intreate a truce  
bypon the yeeldyng vp of the towne: the which being grann-  
ted, composition was made that hee shoulde departe from  
Mountes with leaue to accompany him a thousand and five  
hundred armed men, and to carry horses and other necessa-  
ry cariages: hauing sworne not to beare armour agaynst  
King Philip by the space of one yeare after. So the Graue  
Lodouic beyng wounded, returned home into Germany, af-  
ter the surrender of a moste fine Citie to the Duke of Alba.

THEN the Prince of Orange went a parte into Bra-  
bant: & seying that Mechgeline was assaulted, and the mindes  
of the towncsmen discouraged, bothe by the euill successe of the  
affayres of France, and also by the late newes of winnyng of  
Mountes, and perceyning that they would without al doubt  
incline to the Duke of Alba, he went secretly away & left the  
towne empty. The which the Duke of Alba tooke, and spoy-  
led, and caried from thence a greate bootie. Then he reserved  
to him selfe Dieft, Termund, Rurmund, and Audenarde.  
Afterward Zutphen beyng take by the Duke of Alba: so great  
a feare came bypon the which tooke part with the Prince of O-  
range, y<sup>e</sup> euē as if a perfect conquest were made, & that there had  
bene no neede of souldiers, the Duke of Alba dismiss many of  
his

Mechgeline  
yeilded by the  
Prince of O-  
range to Duke  
of Alba.



by the Germane horsemen. Therefore vaply cities came to the Duke of Alba craving pardon for theyr faulte, and bitterly renouncing the Prince of Orange.

The Duke of Alba besieged Narden a towne of Hollande which was helde by the garrison of the pryncce of Orange, the which the townsmen yelded by vpon certayne conditions. Notwithstanding the Spaniards breaking his sayth, outragiously murdered both them of the garrison, & also the townsmen. At the which captayne Methyne beyng displeased (who came out of Spayne into the low countrey & was iudged to be the successeur of y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Alba) & very angry with Frederick sonne to the Duke of Alba, got himselfe to Hertoghenbosh, & taried there so long vntill he was sent for by the kyng to come home again, after that he was admonished of those dissensions among the chief Captaines of the low countrey. The calamitie of those of Narden made the other cities of Holland more constant, least they shoulde yelde themselves to hym, whom they shoulde finde a more dangerous friende than the mostall enemye.

THEREFORE, they of Harlem beyng ready to yelde themselves to the Duke of Alba, hearing of the crueltie shewed vpon them of Narden, chaunged theyr purpose, & receyued the garrison of the pryncce of Orange: choosing rather to die than to yelde themselves willingly into the power of the Duke of Alba. The garrison of the pryncce of Orange fortified the towne very diligently, beyng before very weake of it selfe.

In the societie and frendshipp of the pryncce of Orange, the most part of the cities of Hollande do persist, as Leijden, Rotterdam, Dort, the countie of Hage, Enckhuysen, Goude, Briel, & the rest. But Amstredam the Metropolitane cite was fortified with a very strong garrison of the Duke of Alba: But at Zeeland except Middelburg, took part with the pryncce of Orange.

THE Duke of Alba besieged Harlem with a great hoste, and very furiously gaue assault to the same. The townsmen with wonderfull strength and courage defended themselves: so aptly placynge the fortifications in the Cite, that some tyme when the Spaniards was receyued even into the bosome of the

The calamitie of them of Narden.

Harlem persisteth in defiance of the duke of Alba.

the towne, was constrained to retire agayne both with greates destruction, and also with infamie and reproch. So that both partes behaved them selues very valiantly.

About this time began the bitter cold of winter, which gaue occasion to the Spanyards to prepare much, the Marishes to the which that countrey is replenished, being frozen with Ice: But their presuming vpon the Ice did somewhat annoy them. The Spanyards made a bridge vpon pyles and stakes, that by the same they might passe over the Ice and breake into the Cittie: but the Townesmen so braged them, y being constrained to retire vpon heapes ouer y bridge, the which being overcharged with waight, brake & drowned a great nūber of Spanyardes: some report more some lesse, but by certain coniecture five hundred was the least: the Catholiques diminish the number, and write but two hundred.

The Prince of Orange sending souldiers to ayde the Citizens of Harlem, was disappoynted of his purpose, for they were intercepted by the Duke of Alba vnlooked for, and slayne with a great slaughter: one cornet of horsemen escaping away, and seven Ensignes of footemen, so that seven hundred are sayde to be slayne in that place.

Succors sent from the Prince of Orange, intercepted by the Duke of Alba

About that tyme, it is sayde that there was in the territorie of Amsterdam a Calfe cast, whyche hadde two heads and two backes, and double feete, that is to say eyght in all, the whyche lyued for certayne houres.

A monstrous Calfe.

The seventeenth day of Nouember there appeared a starre in the signe Cassiopeia of wonderfull bignesse, and excelling in brightnesse. Of this starre diuers men gaue theyr iudgements, and was likened to that starre which was seene about Scorpio in the tyme of Augustus Cæsar, at the byrth of our Sauour Christe. And it was sayd that as that starre did signifye the fyrste comming of Christ, so this did betoken his last comming to iudgemente: Verses concerning thys, were published abroad by the learned. This Starre appeared in the firmament for the space of nyne Monethes.

A new Star. Cassiopeia, is a signe in the firmamente whych hath twelue stars, and is figured like a woman, sitting in a chaire.



Anno. M.D.LXXIII.

IN THE BEGINNING of this new yeere, notwithstanding the vncomfortable time of winter, the furious force of warre, both in France and in the lowe countrey was nothing at all diminished.

Commande-  
ments to be-  
seege Rochel.

The king gaue straight charge and commaundement, vpon payne of greate punishmentes throughout the whole Realme of France, that all noble men shoulde goe to the besieging of Rochel: One payne or punishment was, the losse of honoꝝ: that is to say, that suche noble men as wente not vnto this warre, should be counted rusticall, base, and tributarie.

The denouncing of this payne, caused the noble men, yea those whiche aforesaid professed the Religion, to come to the warre by heapes from all partes of the Realme.

Preparation  
for the seege.

THERE were caried to the Kyngs Campe seauen and thirtie great peeces of ordnance: and about the same time there came threescore ensignes of footemen: monf. Biron, with all diligence and labour made ditches, bulwarks, rampiers, rolling trenches, hardelles, and all munitions and engines apperteyning to the siege of the Citie.

They of Ro-  
chell are as-  
sayed by let-  
ters.

An irruption  
by the of Ro-  
chell.

In the meane tyme hee intreateth them of Rochell to gyue pledges or hostages, bycause of Gadagne, an Abbot which was to come vnto them in the Kyngs name, to declare vnto them the kings last will and determination. They of Rochel answered, that if it would please Gadagne to certify them of the kings pleasure by letters, they would make an answer: but as for the giuing of hostages, or the letting of any man into the Citie, especially at that time, they neither could nor would.

ABOUT the euening of the twelfth day of this moneth, they of Rochel brake forth vpon the Kyngs Camp, & slaying many toke monf. Grandhese a noble mā, & caried him into the Citie.

Another e-  
ruption.

After certayne dayes, some soldiers being priuily come from the Shippes at the first watch when the gates were shut, and beyng passed ouer the ditch, were assailed by the warders of the Kyngs campe. In this tumult the Citie was rayled, and the towncsmen brake forth, by whyche occasion there was so  
soe

soze a fyght and skirmish, that a fewe only of the townesmen beyng slayne and wounded, there was of the kings part a hundred and fyue and systie slayne, and many soze hurt.

Then the Catholiques began to practise by subtil meanes to intercept them of Rochel. Monf. Triabalde a noble man entred into the Citie vnder a coloured pretence of fleeing to them of the Citie, & assayeth to bring y noble men which were there, but especially monf. Languillier, who had the chiefe authoritie ouer Rochel, to defection. But seeing y he could not preuaile, & fearing least they of the town would punish him for his falsehood, returned to y kings Camp at y next eruption out of the citie.

Treason practised against Rochell.

About this time there were new platfornes made for them of Rochel, but those souldiers whiche were apoynted to gyue the enterpryse, were for the most parte slayne in the furie of the common people, the rest after examination had by the Magistrate were brought forth of prison and hanged.

The Citizens of Rochel made monf. l' Noe their generall: notwithstanding so that the chiefe authoritie and power of other matters shoulde rest in the hands of the Magistrate. And certaine other speciall thyngs befell among them, the which to thys day are knowne to fewe, and to me also vncertayne, that I dare not commit them to wryting.

Monf. le Noe general of Rochell.

The Citizens came alwayes thither where they thoughte they myght fynde the enimie. Therefore there was a soze battayle fought at Tadon and at Netre, two villages heare to Rochel, in whych the kyngs part was put to the worst. And thus they neuer suffered the enimie to be at rest.

The twentieth day of Januarie monf. de Garde brought the kings nauie to the promontorie called Chef de Bois, and seeking to stop the of Rochel of their passage, sunke a huge emptie Shippe, (commonly called the Caraque) in the sea, and with great waytes and towes made the same immouable andankerfast. Upō this he reared a fort called le Eguille, from whence he thundred & discharged great shot against y part of y towne which was opposite to y same.ouer against one end of y Caraque ther was another fort called Corceille, & ouer against y

The fort called le Eguille. 41.

The fort called Corceille. 42.

the



The fort of  
the new ha-  
uen. 43.

ther ende of the same a thyrd fort, called the fort of the newe hauen. And thus the hauen was defended on both sydes, the Caraque beyng in the middest.

There appeared in the ocean sea a little beyonde the hauen within the verue of the towne two Shippes, whiche seemed to beare sayle as though they would arize at the Citie. Therfore the towne men went out of the Citie euen vpon a heape to the number of fourescore, hauing certayne soldiers fronting them with targets and shields, intending with matter that they carried with them to fyre the Caraque. The which notwithstanding they attempted in vayne, being terrifyed with the thundring shot which flew from the Eguille fort, and also with the hardnesse of the enterpryse, and so returned into the citie.

The Duke  
of Anjou  
bleth subtil  
perswasions  
to peace.

The Duke of Anjou sente letters from the towne called Samnessan to monf. le Noe, and commaundeth him to signify vnto the men of Rochel in his name, that the king would forgyue them both their lyues and goodes: so that they would yeeld them selues into his hands, the which if they did refuse, he would by force enter y<sup>e</sup> Citie, & execute suche punishment vpon them, as they should thereby be made an example for al others.

Backsyders  
fro the kings  
power.

There fled to Rochel from the Kings armie, diuers whiche aforetime had followed the Religion, and were constrained by the extremitie of the tymes to fyght vnder the Kings banner. By these the kings counsaile was betrayed to the of Rochel.

A violent as-  
sault by them  
of Rochell.  
A legion con-  
monly con-  
teyneth. 6000  
footemen, and  
732. men of  
Armes.

The fyrst day of February, they of the towne made another eruptio<sup>n</sup> or violent assault vnder the conduct of monf. l<sup>e</sup> Noe, in y<sup>e</sup> which they fought so valiantly that of y<sup>e</sup> Legio<sup>n</sup> of Sammartine one whole band was almost slain: many also were take prisoners, whiche notwithstanding were dismiss without paying any ranfome. Notwithstanding they which were known to be instruments of the murder, found no such fauour.

A band con-  
teyneth some-  
time more me<sup>n</sup>  
and sometime  
lesse.

The eight day also y<sup>e</sup> besieged towne smē gaue another assault, in the which they lost only five, but the kings part many soldiers.

Monf. l<sup>e</sup> Noe chose vnto himselfe a wel appoynted & strong band of noble and olde experienced soldiers, choise men which offered willingly their seruice.

T H E

THE Duke of Anjou beyng come neare vnto the city sent againe two letters to the citizens of Rochell: the first concerned the noble men: the second appertayned to the towenemen and foreiners which were fled thither. In the which letters, he declareth that the king was not so vncasie to be reconciled, and vnwilling to shewe grace, but that if they would repent them, and craue pardon at his handes, he would receyue them to his fauour againe: but if they did obstinately refuse his grace, they myght assure them selues to feele the power and seueritie of their most renowned Lord: & could not impute the cause of that their destruction, to any other than to themselves. They of Rochell answered the Duke of Anjou with thanks giuing, beseeching him to labour with the King, that the matter myght be brought to assured peace and tranquillitie: & that especially they myght haue the libertie of their conscience.

THE fiftenth day of this month, the Duke of Anjou came with great authoritie and countenance into the kyngs campe, being accompanied with his brother the Duke of Alanfon, the king of Nauar, the Prince of Conde, the Dauphin, which were of the kyngs blood: the Guise, Duke D'Aumal, Marques d'Meyne, Duke d'Bouillon, Monluc, Count Rochfoucault, the Lord Acier, who after the death of his brother, succeeded hym in the inheritance, and was called Duke D'Vzes, who hauing forsaken the religion, tooke parte with the catholikes. There were many other noble men also: & there was so great a multitude of noble men, that to besiege and assault one citie, men came from al parts of the realme, with al forces that might be possible. But before we come to speake of the noble siege, it seemeth necessarie, that we make breief description of the situation of Rochel, & of the most famous places, therein made notable by valiant exploit.

Rochel by situation, extendeth it selfe so farre into the Ocean sea, that it is almost compassed about therewith: and it is closed almost rounde about with salte maryshes, very convenient for the making of salte: but that part which tendeth toward the countrey of Poictou, is fyrm and fast grounde.

f. iij.

On

Letters hat-  
tatorie fro the  
Duke of An-  
jou, to peace.

A topographic  
call descriptio  
of Rochell.

Salte mary-  
shes. 16.



**Cogne fort.** 10 On that part standeth the temple called L' temple d' Cogne, the which was fortified with a countermure, and now beareth the name of Cogne fort. So that the temple was ouerthrowne, that the steeple might serue for a watch tower, and the rest of the matter of the temple for a fort.

**The tower  
Moreille.** 13.

Ouer against the salt maryshes standeth the tower of Moreille, whiche defendeth that region in large compasse, by reason of the tall and hygh munition of the same.

**Sannicolas  
tower.** 18.

Next after this, foloweth the tower of Sannicolas, the which is compassed about both with a naturall moorysh ground, and also with wittie skyll: for on the right hand, the Ocean flouds beate vpon the same: and the swelling floud of the sea, filleth the dytch thereof, whether at the length the floud maye come: for from that place vnto Cogne gate, the dytches of the citie are almost drye.

From Sannicolas gate, to the gate d' Moulinez, the Sea extendeth it selfe, with all one course and leuell: and to defende that part against the assaultes that myght be giuen by the nauie, there was a verie strong bulwarke made, which was called Sannicolas fort.

**Sannicolas  
forte.** 19.  
**Sannicolas  
gate and the  
bulwarkes.**

**20.  
Sannicolas  
tower.** 21.  
**The tower of  
the haven.** 22

Next to this stode Sannicolas gate, with bulwarkes adioyning to the same: and then Sannicolas tower, ouer against the which was the tower of the haven, the saide haven diuiding them both: And to the ende the Kings nauie might haue no passage into the haven, there was fastened a strong yron chayne from one of the sayde towers to the other. Betweene the tower of the haven and the Lanterne tower, there was reared a very strong wall made by Masons, and furnyshed with ordinance. The Lanterne tower serued to giue lyght in the night to saylers, or to suche as came into the haven in

**The Lanterne  
tower.** 23.

**The Citadel.** 1

time of peace. Next vnto this was placed a notable forte, called the Citadel, being no lesse strong, than it was greate and large, in so much, that it was to that part of the citie as it were an Armozie, or storehouse of Artillerie. This Citadel was compassed about with a wall of mayne strength, at one corner whereof the tower of Gayor hath his place: Betweene  
the

**The tower of  
Gayor.** 2.

the whiche and the nexte poynt towarde the Kings campe, were framed dyuers bulwarkes and fortes, as the newe gate bulwarke, and platfourme, the forte of the Castell: the place of Cocksem, and the bulwarke called l' Euangile, nowe battered downe.

At the other fourth corner of the wall was a very strong bulwarke, called Cogne bulwarke. Many other fortes were reared, which are to be seene in the platfourme belonging to this description. Also it is to be noted, that the haucn called Chef de bois, where the Kings Hauie roade, is two myles distant from the gate of Rochell.

THE Duke of Anjou therefore being receyued with triumphant peales of the great fildes peeces, went to Neully to abyde there: where he tarried the whole time of the siege, with the rest of the Princes, and greatest part of the nobles. The same day hee tooke a viewe of the walles of the Citie, and mustred the Armie.

The day folowynge, the towncsmen brake out at three severall places of the Citie, and hauynge slayne an hundred of their enemies, returned into the Citie agayne, with losse of a fewe of their men.

Then was there a place appointed, from whence the walles of the citie might be conveniently battered, the batterie being layd to the gate of Cogne: and by the commaundement of the Duke of Anjou, a countermure was made, and fortified with hurdels to beare and defende the shot.

Also he forgot not to practise subtilly mischief, vnder the pretence of parley: to the end the city might be assailed with two engines, namely by outward force, & by inward craft & deceit. For the citizens did not wel agree among themselves: some enclining to peace, of the which the duke of Anjou, at that time had made an offer vnto them: others thinking it better to stand manfully to their owne defence: saying, that the offered peace was nothing but a snare to betray them, according to the olde maner.

Captaine Norman going to spoile & rob with two galleys, toke a ship, laden with fifty tun of wine of Burdeaux, and fine:

The newe gate bulwarke & platfourme.

3.

The forte of the Castell. 4.

The place of Cocksem. 5.

The bulwarke le Euangile. 6.

Cogne bulwarke. 9.



and twentie tunne of wheate, and returned with his men in safety into Rochell hauen, notwithstanding that he was assailed by monf. d' Guardes, wyth great force.

Monf. Grand-  
rise skirmi-  
sheth wyth  
the kings  
campe.

THE Duke of Anjou, hauing taken a viewe of the Bulwarke whiche bordered on the sea coaste, and mynding to returne into the Kynge's campe, sent before hym two hundred horsemen, commaunding them to skirmish wyth the townsmen, that hee in the meane time might passe by, with the more safetie. Whyle these and certayne troupes of the townesmen were in skirmish at that place, certayne horsemen, ouer whom monf. Grandrise a noble man was captayne, carying behynde euery of them a foote man, with callyuer shot, set vpon the Kynge's souldiers vnprepared in another part of the campe, of whom they slue many, and tooke some prysoners, and brought with them certayne horses into the citie.

SHORTLY after they of Rochell beyng dyuerfly sollicitied, were contented at the length to parley wyth the Kynge's Lieutenants: monf. l' Noe with Pierrez, Mortie, and Maurisson, beyng chosen for this purpose, came into the Kynge's campe, and so entred into parley with monf. Biron, Strozzi, Villequier, and Gadagne, and to this parley also came the Countie d' Retz, and at the length certayne of the chiefe townesmen.

GADAGNE hauing spoken at large to monf. l' Noe, and to hys felowes, of the singular good wyll of the Kynge, towarde them of Rochell, offered at the last to them in writing, the summe of those conditions, vpon the which the King woulde come to composition of peace: the whiche conditions were these: Fyrst, that the inhabitants of Rochell, though they had grienously offended his maiestie, for that they beyng abashed with a certayne bayne feare, woulde not obey his commaundements oftentimes sent vnto them, were notwithstanding freely pardoned, so that they woulde receyue monf. Biron into the citie, and would obey hym. Secondly, that he wold graunt vnto the free vse of Relygion, according to y<sup>e</sup> forme of the pacificatorie Edict, in the which he woulde haue  
nothing

nothyng neyther diminished nor altered : & for thys he woulde make them most ample and large assurance. Thysdly, that he woulde geue vnto those whiche woulde departe to any other place, full leaue and libertie to depart, and to carry theyr goodes whether soeuer they woulde, or otherwyle to vse them at theyr owne pleasure.

They which were deputed for Rochel, made answer, that they had hitherto in no poynt disobeyed the kyng, but had euer shewed themselves hys faythfull subiectes. That, by the dangerous and troublesome state of the tyme they were constrained to this necessarie defence of theselues, least they should fall into the handes and willes of theyr enemies as others had done, which had embraced with them the same religion. That they desired of the king this one thing, namely, that they might enioy the libertie of their consciences by the benefite of the Edict of peace. But seeing the cause in hand was not theirs alone, but belongyng also to the rest of the reformed Churches, they also earnestly requyred this thyng that consideration of them might be had in like manner: For so much as they could do nothing of theselues without theyr consent. And thus they parted.

The day followyng, Monsi. l'Noe being beset with sixtene hoylemen hauyng encountered and charged a greater troupe, and was pursuyng the chase, was so neare hys death, that if a Captayne had not put hymselfe betwene the enemye and l'Noe, he had bene slayne. But the Captayne thetby purchased hys deaths wounde.

Monsi. l'Noe  
hardly esca-  
peth death.

The deputies of Rochel being returned into the citie, tolde the whole matter vnto the Senate. The Senate called before them the Pastors of the Church, to haue theyr iudgement concerning these matters. The Pastors answered, That for so much as they were demanded of those thyngs whiche specially belonged to conscience and to Gods prerogatiue, it was a matter of great wayght: and therefore that they ought not to make answer to the same, before they had craued wisdome of God. Affirmyng that peace was to be wished, but not such a peace as should be more perillous and mortall than warre:

G.

as



as might playnly inough appeare by those former and late examples. That it was not likely that the kyng commyng upon them with his whole power & proclaiming open warre, would make conuenient and profitable conditions of peace: notwithstanding that they ought to endeuour themselves to forslow nothyng that might be for the peace of the Churches, seeing they sought not warre, but their needfull and necessarie defence. Notwithstanding, that these conferences & parleys did not seeme to be safe and without perill: wherefore they thought it better to deale by wytyng, whereby they might also haue a more conuenient meane to deliberate. Furthermore that they ought to haue a consideration of the common vtilitie of all Churches, and that therefore they ought to do nothyng for their owne priuate cause, except the vse of the same peace shoulde be extended to other Churches.

The next day the people were called together, that a finall determination might be made concerning this matter. And the people lyked of that iudgement of the Pastors, wherof we haue spoken euen now.

This assembly was scarce dismisst, when as the kyngs Arme was approached the gate of the citie, whiche ran forerably together on a braye to breake open the same. Whereupon they of the towne brake forth and repulled the kyngs power by little and little: and ayde commyng still on bothe partes, there was a fore skymishe at that place, bothe sides valiantly quityng themselves. This skymishe continued verie whot the space of ffire houres. Monsieur l'Noe was in great perill of his lyfe, his brest plate beyng broken with diuers violent strokes, and his horse slayne vnder him. The speedy commyng of the night ended this battayle. Of the townesmen twelue were wantyng, and seven and twentie were wounded. But of the kyngs parte there are sayde to be a hundred and fiftie slayne. Wonderfull was the boldnesse and courage of the women in the midst of the fight, comming almost into the daunger of the conflict, bringyng to suche as were wounded wine and other comfortable things.

Another as-  
saute.

The

The nexte day whiche was the last of Februarie, the thundring Cannon shot beganne to batter the walles and gate of Cogne. Wherby the consultations of the disagreying to townsmen were disturbed, and constrained they were by necessitie to defende themselves.

The kings  
souldiers be-  
gan the as-  
saute.

The same day the townsmen gave an assault, having monsieur l'Noe, and Norman their Captaynes: at the whiche assault many on bothe partes were slayne.

Monsieur l'Noe contrary to the agreed and concluded determination, brought to passe, that the sayd determination being revoked in the publique assembly of the Senate and people, it was agreed that the kings Deputies should be heard againe, that the matter might be rather ended by peace than by warre. Whereupon Monsieur Strozzi and Mandreuille, were sent into Rochel for hostages. And Monsieur l'Noe, and James Henrie Mayre, came unto the Duke of Anjou, as it was agreed by the senate and people.

Nevertheless the batterie proceeded agaynst Cogne forte: whole fortification within fewe dayes were beaten downe.

When the Duke of Anjou had hearde the Deputies of Rochel, answered in the Kings name, that the kyng would add nothing unto those former conditions rehearsed unto them already by Gadagne. That, if they were wise, they would embrace them betymes while the kyngs grace and goodnesse was offered unto them: and not to presume upon vayne confidence to have helpe and ayde out of Englande.

With this answer they of Rochel returned to make reporte: and then came agayne to the Kings campe, requiring that bothe the Citie, and also the territoire of Rochel might have one and the selfe same use of the Religion: and also that the same benefice might belong to the reste of the Churches dispersed throughout the Realme. To the which Countie de Adretz, made answer that the kings pleasure was to have the Citie onely partaker of that benefice: as for the other Churches, that he would provide for them at his owne pleasure, and accordyng to his wysdome:

G. H.

will



willing the of Rochel to receyue the benefite offered, & which the kyng would afterward graunt vnto theyr fellowes. This answer was not liked. The which being brought to the Citizens, they all agreed, that all wayes of defence lawfull were to be sought: & that rather than they should runne into present peril, they ought rather to prefer lust warre, than to embrace reprochfull and suspected peace: for God would defende theyr cause.

Whyle these things were in communication, the greate gunnes shooke and battered the walles of the towne. The townsmen also hauyng theyr peeces and shot well defended with bulwarkes and rampyres, discharged lustily from the Citie, in sonmuch that many on the kyngs parte were at diuers tymes hurt and slayne. Among the reste, from that forte which we sayde is called l'Euangele, there was discharged a Canon shot, whiche runnyng through hardell trence not sufficiently fortified with earth, slewe Duke d'Aumall as he stode pryly behynde the same, beynge bucke by the fathers side to the Duke of Guise. And so the funerall requies of this noble peere, was ioynd with the dayly slaughters of noble men, and common souldiers.

Duke D'aumall  
slayne.

Allwayes the thundering shot went off agaynst the townsmen laboring to repaire the breaches of theyr walles: notwithstanding to the small hurte of the townsmen, busily occupied there aboutes.

Truce taken  
for a parley.

Nevertheless a truce was taken for one day for a parley, during whiche tyme the discharging of shot was forbidden on eyther parte. Monsieur l'Noe, and Meriuaile went forth to the parley, in the name of the townsmen.

The day following the thundering shot wente off afreshe, and the townsmen making an assault to Taddon, made a light skirmishe, in the whiche they had good successe, and in the dead tyme of the night the townsmen clothyng themselves with whyte thytes, wente forth and had taken the trence of defence when they were repulled by the kyngs souldiers, and many beynge slayne and wounded on both sides, they came into the Citie agayne.

Nota

**N**owe leauing for a while to speake of the siege of Rochel, let vs say somewhat of the assaies of other countreies.

Sommiron was bryged by D'anuil, and hauing made wide breaches in the wallis, sought by his Souldiers oftentimes to breake into the citie: the townefolkes in the meane tyme fortifying and defending the same with wonderful strength, hauing monsieur Gremian a noble man of Montpellier theyr capitaine, whose fortitude also the enemy had in admiration.

They of Montaubane, bring vnder the conduct of Vicount Paule, succoured the besieged, they of D'Anuils part nothing at all hyndering them: conueying vnto them reasonable store of vittayle, and also of gunpowder. They of Nismes, and the borderers of Senenatz valiantly succoured at all assaies theyr oppressed brethren and fellowes. They of the territory of Viualetz beyng let by the domestickall enemy, went not to that warre.

Thus a great armie, well furnished with artillarie and ordinance, laboured in vaine for the space of foure monethes in the besieging of the towne, sustayning great overthrowe and slaughter of men. For it is sayde that of the Catholikes syde were slaine foure thousande men.

Monsieur Candale of Guian a notable famous man, who had maryed one of the sisters of monsieur Momorenci, brought vnto d'Anuil his kinsman two Ensignes of footemen Gascoynes, who among the Frenchmen are accounted the most expert and painfull Souldiers. These scorned the vaine labour of those that followed the siege, and noted the constancie of the towne, with bragges what they would do more than their fellowes before them. Therefore monsieur Candale, being provoked by his souldiers craned of Monsieur d'Anuil, that he and his bande might haue leaue to giue the first assaulte to the towne. His request was graunted. And there was a sufficient breach made in the wall of the towne. At the whiche when monsieur Candale assayed by sault to enter, he was so receyued that he was repulled with losse of three hundred men at that

The siege of  
Sommiron.

Monsieur  
Candale  
slaine.

continued  
the assault  
deep noyse  
and tumult



assault. With this losse M. Candale was so angrie, that he protested to d'Anail that he abhorred the ciuil warres by whiche one Frenchman killed another, to serue and please the mindes of vile and naughtie knaues: for such were his wordes.

The daye folowing mon. Candale seeking to recouer the losse of his honor, was slain himselfe: which greatly chafed and grieved his souldiers, but specially d'Anail, who was dishonored and defamed with that delay of warre, and unhappie successe, and was sayd by the Catholikes to delay and spende the time for the nonce to the kings great losse and detriment.

For the whole house of Momorencie were appointed to be slaine with the Admirall their kinsman, in the slaughter of Paris: but what was the let hereof we haue shewed alreadye. Notwithstanding the wyser sort asseyme, that d'Anail by his exploits in that warre of Languedoc, shewed himselfe forward to do al that he was able, that he might win the kings fauor.

When there was no occasion left to take Sommiron, and the kings armie lingring the siege, beholde mon. Gremian desired parley: and vpon notable conditions he agreed with d'Anail concerning the yeelding vp the towne, namely that al both souldiers and townesmen, shoulde depart with their armour, and all their goodes in safetie, that they shoulde haue respyt for seuen dayes, and that hostages shoulde be taken on eyther part, vntill the agreement were fully ended.

Therefore the garrison and townesmen, hauing monsieur Gremian their captain, came forth of the citie armed with their families and goodes, and came in safetie to the next Cities of Seuenatz, the hostages abyding in the meane time at Nismes. The yeelding vp of Sommiron seemed incredible to the Catholikes, which were without al hope to receyue the same: and to the dishonor of d'Anail they reported, that monsieur Gremian to gratifie d'Anail, had willingly yeelded vp the Citie vnto him. Notwithstanding in very deed Sommiron was brought into those straits and extremities, that they wanting both vitail and also gunpowder, and hauing no ayde from their fel- lowes (who could scarcely helpe themselves sufficiently) could not

Sommiron  
yeelded vp,  
vpon good  
conditions.

not but yeeld by the towne at that time.

From thys tyme forwarde the Catholikes warred not agaynst them of the Religion in Languedoc: and the yeare following brought a wonderfull alteration, as we will declare hereafter.

ABOUT this time there befell a new occasion to further the assayes of the Religious in Languedoc. Concerning Villeneuve, which was intercepted by mon. Leugere, we have spoken before. The banished Citizens of Villeneuve, used these meanes to recouer their citie. We sayde before that a little towne called Mirebel, was taken by mon. Baron and Pradel: whether the most earnest fauozers of the Religion of Villeneuf fled. They therfore being in Mirebel which was situate vpon the higher ground, from whence they might see farre off, had alwayes Villeneuve before their eyes, insonmuch that the present occasion was alwayes in the mindes of the poore banished Citizens to recouer their countrey. Amidst the straytes of the siege of Sommiron, those extremities of Mirebel are repeated, being besieged round about with enimies.

Villeneuve in the territoire of Viualetz is taken by them of the Religion.

There came to mon. Pradel a certaine souldier a Copper-smith, which was newly come from Villeneuve: who affirmed that he had deuised a way to take the citie, in the we ridiculous and fonde, but yet such he sayde, as was not to be rejected, being much more easie than that which was practised in taking of Nismes in the time of the former warre.

There was at the walles of Villeneuve a hole, out of the which the water of the towne, onely in the time of raine, runneth to purge the wayes and chanelles: and the same had an yron grate before it. That hole this Souldier had viewed, and reported the same to be suche, that the barres of iron might easily be broken by: through the which he affirmed they might easily passe into the towne.

The matter being tolde to mon. Baron a Captaine, was scalded at. Notwithstanding, at the instance of mon. Pradel, it was agreed that thys deuice should be put in practise. Monsieur Baron was gone apart to Priuac to keepe the citie, which  
being



being brought into perill by the dissensions of the towneſmen and inhabitants therabout, by his industrie abode in the faith and power of them of the Religion. To take Villeneuve there lacked more ſuccors: for the which they of Aubenac, & other of theſe ſellowes were to be intreated. The matter could not be ſo ſecretly kept, but that it blaſt forth and came to the eares of Monsieur Leuger. He therefore increaſed his garrison, and appointed thoſe to keepe watche and ward which in the Citie had abiured the Religion. Notwithſtanding there was not one in the Citie which knew of this purpoſe and counſaile.

To bring this matter to paſſe, it was appointed that they ſhoulde tarrie for a darke night. Monsieur Baro differring the matter as deuoyde of all warrelke policie, and fearing the danger of this purpoſe, certaine monethes paſſed on, and the matter not aſſayed. In the meane tyme monsieur Leuger being deceyued and mocked by falſe Meſſengers, watched many nights, hauing his men in a readineſſe in armes. So that he thought theſe reportes to be but vaine and falſe.

Monsieur Pradelle at the length brought to paſſe, that in the beginning of the moneth of March, hauing gathered ſuccours together, monsieur Baro came with his ſouldiers from Priuac to Mirebel. He came in the euening, notwithſtanding ſo, that hee had day light for certaine houres, and the watchmen and ſcoutes of mon. Leuger which lay at Mirebel in ſecret watche certified him out of hande of the coming of monsieur Baro, and telling him that he would come the ſame night vnto the citie. Monsieur Leuger, though he were oftentimes mocked, yet notwithſtanding by this report he being ſtyrred to looke aboute him, commaunded the gates of the citie to be ſhut betymes: and thoſe which abiured the Religion, as ſuſpected to be put apart in diuerſe places: to double the watch: inſomuch that the towne being conveniently walled aboute, was replenished with a ſtanding watch. He commaunded bonfires to be made in euery ſtreete of the Citie, and Crefſet light to ſtand in euery window, in ſuch wiſe as the whole Citie was bright and ſhining. And he himſelfe with certaine choyle men went  
round

rounde about his watche. In this so diligent watching, they of the Religion had nothing deceyved his expectation, and if they had come at the appoynted houre, they could not haue preuayled: for one a clocke after midnight was the houre appointed, at the which time, watches are comonly of lesse force.

And why they came not at the sayde houre appoynted, this was the cause monf. Baro shewing the danger of the attempt, thought it good not to take the same in bande: many valiant souldiers agreed herevnto, being moued with authoritie. Notwithstanding, monf. Pradelle preuailed, that the attempt might be giuen: and when he had made his prayers vnto God, in the midst of his souldiers, all men were so incouraged, that they went forward, as men perswaded and assured of victorie.

While the matter was thus in controuersie, the time was delaied. Monf. Leuger deeming that they were the accustomed wiles and mockes, leste off his serious watch: by which time the day starre appeared. Wherefore all men being desirous of sleepe departed. And monsieur Leuger him selfe went home to sleepe, for that he had watched all the night.

They of the religion come vnto the citie when all things were at rest, through the compassing valleys shadowed wylh hilles, with the which Villeneuve was compassed on that side. And when the iron barres were pulled vp, they entred in at the forsaide hole: & they that entred first, came vnto the thicke watch, & slue certaine souldiers whom they found asleepe, & some betwene sleeping and waking. And thus they ranne through the citie, crying, the towne is taken. Thus the greater part being entred in at the hole, not one shot being discharged from the walles against them, opened one gate. Whomsoever they met, they slue. Monf. Leuger being waked with the noyse of this tumult, went out of his house, but being constrained by force to retyze againe, he kept him self close in the same, being lately well fortified. The Catholikes also betooke them to the tower of the greater gate, & to another also of great heigth beside the temple. But such as were found armed in any place of the citie, were slaine by the of the religion, insomuch that the streets

h.

were



were filled with dead bodies. Many popish prelates also were slaine, which were come thither from diuers citie therabouts, to hold a Synode. And after they had assailed the two towres & the house of mon<sup>st</sup>. Leuger, to y<sup>e</sup> hurt & detrimēt of both parts, the said thre places were yelded the third day, & mon<sup>st</sup>. Leuger departed, being in great peril of the catholikes, in somuch that he could scarcely be in safety in his house, being accused of treasō. Thus sayth being violated, he is also accused of treason, by false surmise. So great feare came vpon al this countrey, that no doubt, they of the religion might easily haue taken the next citie, but that the souldiers being busied about the pray, would not go else where. A great booty was caried out of this little town, and much money for ransomes was receyued, which by the negligence of the captaines, was put to priuate bles.

The Catholikes by this suddaine feare being awaked, held al those citie which were neare vnto them, they which had taken Villeneuve, being gone no further. Notwithstanding they of the religion, tooke certain little townes which bordred vpon them: and fortified Gorce, and Saluasse, that they might haue free passage from Viuiers to Nismes.

D'Anvil abstai  
neth frō war.

D'ANVIL hauyng placed the tayle and remaynder of his armies in dyuers townes, from thence forth mitigated the force of warre.

Diuers citie  
in Languedoc  
take by policie

Neuerthelesse, by them of the religion, diuers townes and castels in sundry places of Languedoc were taken dayly, rather by policie, than with y<sup>e</sup> displaid ensigne. About this time a walled towne called Florenfac, being not farre from Narbō was taken: Neyther was there any Diocesse in Languedoc, in the which day by day some newes fell out. The particular repetition of which things, we haue thought more conuenient to defer vnto another time, and for another booke.

Puis taken.

They of the religion also tooke Puis, a towne bordering vpo the riuer of Roine, which afore that time by the negligēce of the townesmen, was faine into decay. Carfol also whiche lieth ouer against Valentz in Dauphine, was strōgly fortified.

These things falling out in this order, after the belleging  
of

of Sommiron, they of the religion in Languedoc, beganne to looke moze seriously about them, & to take better order in their affayres. For in their first beginning of warre, the captaynes and ringleaders being none of the nobilitie, but borne of base parentage, euerie man governed his souldiers as him lysted, whereupon many dissentions arose among them, when as one would not obey the others counsell, according to the nature of Frenchmen, which is to like well of their owne gouernment. Therfore the inhabitantes of Nismes (with whom they of Viuijers and Sevenatz were ioyned) determined to chosse certain of the nobilitie, whose commaundement the other captaynes shoulde not refuse to obey. And to this order of gouernment accorded monf. Sauroman, a noble man, and one deseruing to be loued for his godlynesse and his modestie, who in the verie same gouernment afore time, had verie profitably bestowed great diligence and paynes. Who escaping the cruell slaughter of Paris, fled into Switzerlande. Him, after deliberation had they chose, and intreated him by their letters, to take vpon him that charge. At the first he doubted what he were best to doe, whether he were best to loyne him selfe with them, being in so great peril. Neuerthelesse after certaine monthes, he came vnto them at the last, as we will declare hereafter.

Monf. Sanroman chosen to be generall by them of the religion.

ABOVT this time the Churches of Languedoc sent into Germanie to craue helpe, that they might be able to sustaine the force of warre, whiche they were assured would shortly be moued against them. For this treatie monf. Calueri, and Valli, strong & wise men, in the midst of the continual assaults of y<sup>e</sup> enimie were sent. They went especially to y<sup>e</sup> countie Palatine: of whose compassion & good wil, in pittying their estate, & in readinesse to help the, they certified their felowes, & put them in hope of aide. But for the present necessitie, they received nothing. And as they returned home againe, making a longer iourny, bicause of the lyings in waite of y<sup>e</sup> enimies, monf. Valli came home in safetie: but monf. Calueti was taken by monf. d' Gordes in Dauphine: & being kept in ward certaine monthes, was at the length by reason of a peace which came in y<sup>e</sup> meane time,



time, and by the intreatie of d'Anuil restored. All which things we will intreate of together hereafter in one place.

Monbrune ar-  
meth himselſe  
in Dauphine.

**W**E ſpoke befoze of monſ. Monbrune, and of the noble men of Dauphine. He lying ſecretly at home, & ſeeming to haue no care for religio, but to provide for his own priuat eaſe & profit, & to ſeke to win the kings fauor, came forth at the laſt, contrarie to the expectation of all men, and armed him ſelfe.

Monſ. d' Gorges ſent vnto him ſtraight after ſugred letters, promiſing vnto him euer and among, in the kings name, both doomeſticall peace, and alſo libertie of conſcience, feeding him with friendly promiſes, if ſo be he would ſerue the king: or at leaſt if he would be quiet, and ſeek his own profite. Neuertheleſſe in the meane time he went about to betray him, ſeking to ſpoyle him of al the ſuccours of his friendes, and ſo to intercept him.

Monſ. Monbrune being certiſied hereof, hauing both conſcience towardeſ the religion, and hauing abandoned out of his mynde, the whole conceiued feare of the butcherly murder, and they of Languedoc hauing good ſucceſſe of their conſtancie: began to perſuade with his priuate friendes of the nobilitie, which fauoured the religion, and kept their houſes to come abroade: and after deliberation had, they agreed together to take Valentz, Môtill. Leucreeſt, which were noble cities in Dauphine, by them of the Religion, whiche as yet were in them. And they made their neighbours of Viualetz acquainted with this matter.

But when their purpoſe fayled in taking thoſe towneſ, & certaine bandſ of the inhabitantes, in the territoire of Viualetz alſo, when they were come ouer the riuer of Roſne, being intercepted by the horſemen of monſ. d' Gordes, the ſayde monſ. Monbrune tooke certain ſmal emptie towneſ of no fame, in the hil country of Dauphine, neare vnto the Diocelleſſe of Dien, as Orpier, Dioſet, and Serra, which were kept with no garriſons. Monſ. d' Gordes being in ſecuritie, and nothing at all fearing the ſpyring of them of the Religion, and the towneſmen whereof fauouring alſo the Religion.

And

And then monf. Monbrune hauing with hym a fewe of his friends to the number of eyghtene horfemen, and two and twentie olde fouldiers only, wente out of his houle, not knowing certaynely what to do, & hauing no fufficient truft in the ftrength of thofe fewe, fo great feare remayned by the remembrance of that lamentable tyme.

About the fame tyme by hys trauayle in the parts of Troiz, whych lieth among the hilles of the Alpes (and yet no barren foyle) thefe noble men, monf. Ledigner, Champolian, & Morge toke the chiefe Citie called Meufa, and dyuers other fmall townes, and gathered togeather a great multitude of the Religious (whyche are many in thofe parts) which at that tyme lay hyden in fecret places after the cruell flaughter committed.

MONS. d' Gordes notwithstanding, not deeming the perill of that hill countrey to be fo greate, in fo weake and fmall beginnings, fent out certayne troupes of horfemen only to intercept Mombrune and his fellowes, but hee preuayled not. Whereupon he certifyed the King of a new commotiō. Notwithstanding euen at thefe fyrft beginnings, Monbrune toke certayne troupes of Souldiers belonging to monf. de Gords, ftragglng heere and there, and offered by the fyrft fruites of greater flaughter to come.

The fecurity  
of monfieur de  
Gordes.

OF thefe fmal beginnings it can fcarfe be told how greatly his ftrength increafed within fewe dayes, infomuch that the kings fyde had not a moze terrible and fearefull enemy in the Realme of France, whiche wee will briefly note hereafter in due tyme and place.

**VV**E fayde befoze that the Citizens of Sanferre were in great extremities by reafon of domefticall diffentions, and that a Caftel wastaken from them, and reconqered alfo by them the fame day agayne. Being taught by this dangerous admonition, they begyn moze exquifitely to order and appoynt all things in the Citie, and ordaine monf. Ioanneau the Licutenant of the towne and a payneful man to be their General and gouernour by his name and authoritie: and their captaynes for

Of the af-  
fayres of San-  
ferre.



the warre they chose monf. Flore, and Mine, and certayne others : they mustered the townesmen and appoynted bands of Souldiers.

The negligence of them  
of Sanferre.

Notwithstanding as yet they were not beleeged by the kings armie, and many, but especially monf. Ioanneau coulde not be perswaded that the king amidst the extremities of Rochel and Languedoc warres, would beleege the Citie. Nevertheless the more wise and prouident sort considered and thoughte that hee would not leane that vnassaulted, which was in the very harte and middell of the Realme. Thys securitie brought to passe, that they of Sanferre left many necessary things vndone : but especially it caused them to neglect the provision of corne for the Citie, of whiche they might haue provided great store in so fertile a countrey, in the which their store houses, so neare after haruest, were replenished almost with all manner of frutes. The pulling downe also of the suburbs and other villages adioyning vnto them was pretermitted, whiche notwithstanding was necessary to be done against the seerge, least the same places myghte serue thei? enemies tourne, whiche they dyd afterwarde in very deepe to the great annoyance of the towne. But principally their carelesnesse in providing corne brought vpon them so great a famine, that the same myght seeme to be nothyng inferioure, nay rather to exceede the famine of Hierusalem, and that of Samaria. Besyde thys, they erred in hoppyng for succors by whiche they persisted constant to thei? owne hurt and detriment, they whiche ought to haue ayded them, eyther not doyng thei? duetie, or els so vnfurnished that they could not help. Notwithstanding both their constancie and also thei? wonderfull industrie is worthy to be remembred of suche as shall come heereafter, and specially beeyng in a good cause it deserueth great prayse and commendation.

Thys history is written in French by one named Lerry, an approued witnesse to bee credited, beeyng at that seerge even to the last moment, from whose writing, and others information we will according to our manner and purpose, set downe that

that which is only necessary.

After that they of Sanierre had skirmished certayne dayes with theyr neyghbours of Cosac, and had taken from them the pray and bootie, they were besieged the ninth day of January of this presente yeere with a copious armie, contayning fyue hundred horsemen, and fyue thousande footemen, besyde those whych were boine and dwelling in that countrey, who came thither of their owne accord to get them renowne. The Lorde of Chastre, knight of the order, the kings gouernour of this countrey, was general of the Armie. He had for the batterie sixtine great peeces: and he caused a greate number of trenches and bulwarkes to be made for their defence in the seege.

When they of the towne sawe them selues besieged, and then too late fearing the scarcitie of corne, they determined to thrust out of the Citie the ralticall multitude. But they to whome the executing heereof was committed, so handled the matter, that the greater part of the common people remayned still in the Citie: whereupon ensued both to the miserable people, and also to the whole Citie an intollerable mischiese. So many groase oversights coulde not but bring great calamitie to them of Sanierre.

The seege of Sanierre.

The Lord of Chastre, sending an Herald, summoned them of Sanierre to yeeld by the towne: the which if they would doe willingly, he promised that he would perswade the Kyng to deale with them in clemencie: but if they refused, he threatened to shew all seueritie agaynst them. To this the Sanierreans made no answere, but stayed the Herald from returning agayne, and kept him in the Citie: the whych acte was agaynst the lawe of armes, and committed by the vndiscrete counsaile of the chiefe rulers, which notwithstanding was disliked of the most part of the townesmen. This acte tourned afterward to the great displeasure of monf. Iohanneau the authoz of this same.

Thus the Sanierreans prepared themselves for their defence; being greatly encouraged by the good successe of theyr former besieging, of the which we haue spoken in another place. They disquieted the enemye by often eruption, by the good conduct of

The courage of the Sanierreans in defending themselves.



of mons. Flore an expert and valiant Captayne, who both tooke great paynes, and also had happy successe in his assayes. And it is certayne, so farre forth as we may iudge of humane matters humanly, that if the Sanferreans had provided in time sufficient store of corne, the enemy had had the same successe whiche he had in the former warre.

All thyngs necessary for the siege being diligently provided by the Lorde of Chastre, the sixtene day of February of this present yeere, the walles of the Citie began to be battered with sixteene great peeces of ordinaunce, two of the which were planted vpon a higher place of ground, and bent against the face of the Citie, to the great annoyance of the towne men.

But before that time of the batterie, there was fled a certayne souldier out of the Kings armie vnto the towne men, which bewrayed the place, which the enemy by batterie intended to make sauteable: to the which place the towne men came with speede, fortifying the same with a new countermure: notwithstanding they sawe the enemy bend his force againste another place of lesse strength. Yet neuerthelesse by proove hee found the same contrary to his expectation, so well fortifyed, that when he had for the space of three dayes done nothing but batter the same (for in those three dayes space there were certaynely tolde three thousande and fyue hundred shot of ordinaunce) they had made a very small breach in the wall.

Also credible persons whiche abode in this sege even vntill the end of the same, report a wonderfull thing worthy to be remembred, namely, that amidst so many terrible thundring shot, there was not one hurt, except one onely damsell whyche was slayne not with the shot, but with the fiery flame of a peece: howbeit houses in diuers places of the towne were shaken and rent, and the weapons in the hands of soldiers broken in peeces, also the helmets taken off from some of their heads, and the rubbish and stone worke flew about the eares of many, without doing them any hurt: Also at what time there was a sermon, the house it selfe wherein the people were assembled together, was fylled with the rubbish of the next houses which

were beaten do'wne, whiche things I would not report except they were approued true, that it may appeare that not without cause the Sanferreans almost all perished with famine, which were deliuered out of so great perilles, but that God by his singular prouidence ordered the whole matter, in whose hande is both life and death.

The breach beyng made as is aforesayd, the L. Chastre deter-  
mined to approche the walles with Engines, that hee mighte winne the gate Vier which was next vnto the breach. Also at other partes of y<sup>e</sup> wall the soldiers undermined, y<sup>e</sup> with dyuers assaults made together y<sup>e</sup> Sanferreans might be vnable to resist.

The ninetienth day of March, the Kings armie bente with might and mayne gaue an assault at the breach, and in the mean time the ordinance whiche was planted on the higher grounde discharged lustely at the face of the towne. The townesmen feared the shaking and blowing vp of the mines, standyng in doubt least they should breake forth at those places where they were, and fearing least while they were occupied in one place, on the other part an entrie mighte be made for the enimie. So that they were in sore conflict with dyuers extremities.

Notwithstanding they had suche successe in the ende, that the enimie was not only repulsed; but slayne also with a greate slaughter, in somuch that he was discouraged any more to giue any assault vnto the towne, beyng taught by the example of the former warres.

Wherefore the L. of Chastre perceyuing that it was but lost labour, besyde the great spoyle also of his men, to giue any more assaults to the towne, and being warned by the erro<sup>r</sup> of mon<sup>s</sup>. Martinenge, who aforesime was generall in the other seege, but in hayne, deuised another way of besieging, thinking it good to leaue off the assalting of the same, and rather w<sup>th</sup> strong bulwarkes to inclose it, that neyther they whiche were within the Citie might come forth, nor yet those whych were without myght haue accesse to them whych were within: y<sup>e</sup> so he might cōstrayne the townesme<sup>n</sup> beyng brought to extreame famine, to giue vp y<sup>e</sup> towne, the which in deede came to passe.

I.

Therefore

An Engine  
was a four  
square thyn  
made of boor  
des and quar  
ters for men  
to goe vnder  
to defend the  
selues from  
stones & shot.



Therefore the day following whiche was the twenty of March, he displaced hys Artillerie, and ouerthrowe and brente the fortifications which he had erected about the Citie, and the whole armie almost trussed by bagge and baggage.

Then the townesmen thought that the L. Chastre, beeyng out of hope to take the Citie discamped, but his intente was otherwise: for he practised another kynde of strait seige, as we have sayd. Therefore the L. Chastre erected seauen bulwarks, severally situated according to the conveniencie of the place, in necessary places, fortified such places of the hamlets adioyning therewith, as served hys turne: heinde in the Citie with broad trenches, that the townesmen myghte have a narrowe space left them betwene the Citie and the ditche: placed horsemen and footemen in convenient order, and commaunded a most strait kynde of watche and ward, in suche wise that it was not possible by any meanes, that any man should goe out or come into the Citie.

The Sanferreans send for succours.

When the townesmen sawe them selues to be thus inclosed, they sente to diuers places for succours, but specially into Germanie, and into Languedoc. But what came thereof we will shewe in order hereafter.

Concerning the affaires of the lowe countrey.

**W**E sayde before that Harlem a towne in Hollande was besierged by the Duke of Alba, in winning whereof the Spanyards, and contrariwise in defending of the same the Prince of Orange hys souldiers toke great paynes. The wall being battered downe with shot, was so fortified agayne by the garrison in the towne, that trenches beeyng conveniently made by wonder labor round about within the Citie, the inner partes of the Citie were deemed more firme and strong than the very walles were before.

Whilest this Citie was besierged, and valiant adies shewed on both parts, many things in the meane time diuersly fel out.

The seauen and twentieth day of January, the Spanish nauie was taken by the Flisshiners, notwithstanding it escaped away agayne with great slaughter.

IN

IN THE meane tyme the Prince of Orange laboured by all meanes possible to vittayle them of Harlem beyng oppressed with famine: and by due and conuenient arriuall from the bordering Cities ther aboutes, as fro Leyden, and Delfe, and by the benefyte of the hard colde winter, the way beeing frozen hard with Ice, he brought to passe that vittuals were conueyed to the townefmen.

The Prince of Orange vittayleth Harlem.

In the beginning of March a new supply of Spanyardes to the number of fyue ensignes, came into the Camp. The Fishiners encountered happily at Ternele, with the nauie of the Duke of Alba.

THE Prince of Orange (according to the variable chance of warre, or rather by the manifold prouidence of the Lord of hostes) going about to succour them of Harlem with shippes, Countie Bossu the Kings Liefetenant of Hollande, encountering with him and bring of more force, toke certayne shippes, whereupon ensued a new slaughter vpon the Prince of Oranges part, by the miranes of them of Amsterdam.

ABOVT this time also the Reisters whiche were vnder the paye of the Duke of Alba, taking with them the footebande with shot, made an inroade in the territozie of Leyden, robbing and spoiling the same, and carying away a greate boorie.

VVITHIN fewe dayes after they of Harlem brake forth vpon the kings armie as they were triumphing vpon the successe of their victories, and were celebrating the feast of Easter, and slewe a greate many, and wounded many, and for the good successe heereof, they brake forth agayne the daye following vpon the Duke of Alba hys campe, and hauyng slayne certayne and disturbed the campe, they returned into the Citie agayne. But when they brake forth in the euening of the same daye, and came in the dead time of the nighte vpon the Reisters Campe, the Reisters were wpyth feare so astonied, hauyng not yet breathed synce they late Conflistes, that leauyng theyr Tents, they betooke them vnto theyr heeles most towardlye, they of

A.ij.

Harlem



Harlem following the chase and making a great slaughter of their enimies. Notwithstanding the townsmen, hauing this successe, not mynding to assaile the rest of the army, for that they sawe them selues vnable to make their partie good, rettyzed into the Citie agayne.

THE Kinges power, wherof the Countie Bossu was generall, and the power of the Prince of Orange strined who should be Lords of the Sea, wherebpon diuers confliques were had betweene them, bycause the preheminence of the water might eyther helpe or hinder the towne of Harlem. Therefore the Orenghians wente about to winne the rampier, thereby to stoppe the entercourse and passage of Amsterdam, by whyche vittayles were carried into the Duke of Alba his campe: But the men of Amsterdam came forth and skirmished wyth the Orenghians: and beholde as they were buckeling togeather, a greate number of Rusticall laborers were discomfited.

The Orenghians suspecting that the Spaniards were come, were discomfited: and so for feare leauing eyght of theyr Shyppes in the power of the enimies, were slayne by heapes by them of Amsterdam, the reste cowardlye ranne away.

Thus the other practise to ayde the besieged in Harlem, was made frustrate, y<sup>e</sup> County Bossu defending that sea coast with the Spanish nauie.

But when the Duke of Alba had supplied fresh soldiers in the roome of such as were slayne, picking them out both from among the Reisters, and Burgundians, and also out of the old seruitours of the garrisons of the lowe countrey: and the procuring a more strait seerge notwithstanding the constante seeking of the Prince of Orange to succour, there came in the meane tyme a loze famine vpon them of Harlem, for it is a Citie both copious of it selfe, and was also replenished with a garrison of soldiers.

The Prince of Orange being only busily occupied in deliuering of Harlem, leuied so greate an armie as hee coulde  
out

A famine in  
Harlem.

out of Hollande and Zelande, minding to breake into the Citie, to helpe the besieged. The generall of this armie vnder the Prince of Orange, was VVilliam Bronchorste Lord of Battéburge. He came at the last with his power to the duke of Alba his camp, & hauing slayne at the first onset y<sup>e</sup> rearward of the Reisters, encountred couragiously with the rest of the armie: But the duke of Alba his part, taking vnto the courage, so defended them selues, that they did not only repulse the Orengeians, but also destroyed them with a great slaughter.

For it is sayde, that there were a thousande and five hundred slayne: the enimie hauing taken in the spoyle fouente ensignes, tenne fielde peeces, and thirtie waggones. Also the Lord of Battéburge him selfe was slayne.

THE Duke of Alba hauing a great victorie, followed more vehemently the siege of Harlem. Then they of Harlem being brought to great distresse, by the siege whiche dured eyght monethes, and by the sore samyne, precluded by the towne vpon euill conditions: as that they shoulde submit them selues to the will and pleasure of the conqueror.

Harlem surrendered by to the Duke of Alba.

And to the ende the souldiers shoulde not haue the spoyle and bootie of the citie, he commaunded two hundred and fortie thousande crownes to be giuen vnto them. Then the Spaniardes shewing all crueltie vpon the townesmen, tormenting them by all manner of meanes. The Duke of Alba commaunded sixe hundred of the souldiers to be hanged: three hundred were brought out of the citie halfe naked, and cast into the water: a sight most pitifull, and an acte with barbarous crueltie most detestable: seeing that the greatest parte of victorie consisteth in lenitie and mercie. This happened the eleuenth day of July.

Crueltie shewed at Harle.

Now to returne to Rochell.

The Rochellians perswaded in their defence, notwithstanding that they were nowe by no small occasion weakened. And, as the matter then seemed to require, they committed the whole ordering & charge of the war, to certayne approued men, namely to mons. Normá, Riuiet, Charle, Essarz, & Garguole: re-

seruing

seruing



seruing the name of authoritie and power to the Maior, who notwithstanding did nothing of him selfe, without the aduise of the Senate.

**T**H E same day the kings side prepared a fresh for the batterie: the townsmen with no lesse haughtie courage of mynd, discharged the thundring shot from the fort l'Euangile, against the kings campe, to the great annoyance of the same.

The day following, the kings ordinance went off so thicke, that the roaring stroakes thereof could scarce be numbred: and so helde on all the next day. The townsmen in the meane while by night left nothing vndone, to repaire and fortifie the breaches of their walles.

Countie d' Retz was stricken behinde in the reynes of the backe with a Calieuer shot, beyng come out of the couent of the Engynes.

The same night mons. Normá made an inroade, euen vnto the enemies trenche, notwithstanding he was constrained to retire againe into the citie, with losse of two of his men, beside those which were wounded. The day after he came again to y same place, purposing by ouerthrowing y hardels of the enemy, to kil many of the: but he had like successe as he had before.

**B**Y T for so much as we are to describe greater conflicts in this noble siege, being such as our age hath not seene, and so much the more noble, for that after the finall destruction as it were of the Religious, the wonderfull constancie of the Rochellians had most happy successe, by the wonderfull goodnesse of God: we thinke it meete and conuenient to our purpose, to speake somewhat more largely, and particularly to shewe the exploytes and actes of euerie day seuerally.

**M**A R C H E. The sixtene day of Marche the kings parte made baskets, oueragainst the bulwarke l'Euangile, planting those peeces of ordinance which were in the fort of Corceile (by which we sayd the passage into the haven from the sea was stopte) betweene them. The townsmen fortifie that part against the batterie.

Mons. Fontene was chiefe captaine of the watch and ward of the Mines commonly called Cazemates, which were made

in the dytch, seruing to make eruptions, and to repulse the chiefe  
 mie from the walles. He, taking with him some of his sould-  
 diers, came vnto that part of the kings campe, which was neare  
 vnto the Lazerhouse, where he founde twelue noble men sit-  
 ting at supper, whome he slew, notwithstanding that they pro-  
 mised him very large ransomes to redeeme their lyfe, and  
 when he had done, returned in safetie vnto the citie agayne.  
 This was done in the night of the same day.

The seuententh day was spent wholly in giuing an assault.  
 The day folowing, when the kings campe went about by  
 trenches and baskets to approach more neare vnto the walles,  
 there ensued a sore battell, the townesmen coming out of the  
 towne to withstand the enimie.

The next day after, the townesmen came againe to the same  
 fortification, and for all that the enimie coulde doe, they ouer-  
 threwe their baskets & burdels, and tumbled great walpackes  
 full of wooll into the ditch, and slaying at the same place three  
 score of them, chased the rest to the castell Palereau. The same  
 day at nyght certaine shot of the kings campe, came into the  
 trench of the bulwarke I'Euangile, & taking some of the townes-  
 men bna'wares, slew them.

The twentieth day, the batterie was begon againe with so-  
 rie three great peeces, which were planted in seuerall places:  
 notwithstanding the walles of the city were not much impai-  
 red: the roofes of houses in diuers places were pulled downe,  
 whereat many a bayne shot was discharged. There were sold  
 the same day a thousand and five hundred stroakes.

The two and twentieth day, a newe assault was intended to  
 be giuen, about three of the clocke in the afternoone: but bicause  
 the towne beganne to discharge against them, whereby many  
 of the Kings campe were slayne, they stayed their former pur-  
 pose, and encountered the towne with mayne shot, vntill sixe of  
 the clocke in the evening.

It was told the townesmen, that the enimie had determi-  
 ned the same day to winne the towne, which stode betwene  
 the gate Rambalde, and the Bulwarke I'Euangile: and  
 the



the treasons of the citie were feared. Therefore the townsmen prepared them selves for defence, appoynting in diuers necessarie places watch and warde.

All this while the townsmen toke great paines in making bulwarks in the citie of earth, compact with turfes and stakes to bynde the same.

An earth-  
quake.

One of the kings mynes was ouerwhelmed, to the greate spoyle of the pioneers. That nyght there was in the citie a great earthquake, the which some say, was the cause of the ouerturning of the sayde myne, but in my iudgement it is unlikely. From the last day of Februarie, vnto the five and twentie of this moneth, there were tolde twelue thousand and seven hundred stroakes of the kings gunnes.

The same daye by the commandemente of the Maior, one Chale, whose name was famous in Rochell, and whome we reckoned before among the captaynes of the warre, went out of the citie, for that the Rochellians had him in suspicion, and so came vnto the kings campe.

The day folowing, the townsmen made an eruption by on a troupe of horsemen, which they discovered to stande at Taddon: and after a skymishe, by which both partes sustayned losse, they retyred.

The eyght and twentie day of Marche, the whole armie of the king was set in battell araye, euen as if they would haue giuen an assault to the gate of Cogne, and to the bulwarke l'Euangile. Notwithstanding, after they had for the space of one houre discharged shot one against the other, with the losse and hurt of both partes, they sounded the retrayte. About five of the clocke in the euening the kings campe returned agayne, and placing a troupe at Sannicolas gate, the rest stode in battell aray at Cogne gate.

Their purpose was to take the Cazemates, whiche were in the dytche. And for this cause fortie of the kings souldiers went downe into the dytche, notwithstanding, they were so repulled by the townsmen, that many of the kings campe fell into the ditch. In the meane time the great gunnes thundered both

both from the towne, and also out of the kings campe: from which fortie shot were discharged.

The day following was spent onely in giuing an assault. But the next day after that there was a soze battaile fought betweene the Rochellians and the kings campe. The cause of the battaile was this. Thye souldiers went out of the towne, and set vpon the first watch of the kings camp. Then the whole campe armed theselues. By & by there came out of the towne others to rescue the first: wherupon the enimie came on by heapes, vpon whom the Caliner shot came as thicke as haile: and such a tempest of great shot droue agaynst the threesquare battaile, whiche was set in aray wedge wise to pearce into theyr enimies, that of the forefront of the same, fye with targettes were slaine, and after them many other souldiers. There appeared at Taddon certaine horsmen, at the first but few in number, to allure the townesmen to battaile: but when they sawe that none would come forth to encounter with them, a greater number discovered themselves: ouer whom Countie Luden was generall. These horsmen being within the leuel of Sancti-nicolas tower were a saye marke: so that their horses and they themselves were ouerthrowne and slaine in great number with the violent shot of the same.

About the euening the kings sode to requite the late susteyned losse, fye with theyr great Gunnes certaine Souldiers and Captaynes.

The next day the kings scoutewatche was banded by the decree of the Rochellians: who was sayde to betray and disclose the secretes of the townesmen. The same day two souldiers fled from the kings campe to Rochel. The kings campe in the Euening chaunged theyr accustomed maner of watch: and shot off twelue great peeces agaynst the townesmen.

The day following whiche was the first day of April, the townesmen in the deade time of the night shot off a peece of ordinance, whiche in the day time they had leuelled and bent agaynst the tents whiche were pyched beside Palercan, by the which many sleeping vpon their couches were slaine. Where

R.

April.  
vpon



bypon the kings campe discharged incontinent at them againe a great peale, by whiche two of the Captaynes belonging to the towne were slaine. The same day Captain Dange fled from the kings campe to Rochel.

IN the kings campe, by reason of the great multitude of souldiers in the same, and the penurie of the country therabout, vittayles were so deare, that the souldiers priuily stole away: and the hoxsmen and noble men, which vpon their own charge mainteyned warre, for that prouender was scarce and harde to be gotten, went home to their houses. Upon this contempt and negligence of warlyke order and prouision, insued also in the campe great sicknesse, insomuch that within few dayes, the sicknesse destroyed more than the sworde had done. The forrangers of coyne were constrayned to cary prouision from Paris, and from the places theraboutes: but, notwithstanding that the king gaue strayt commaundement in this behalfe, it profited little. The king also in this backsliding of the noble men, gaue strayte charge to restrayne the same: but in vaine. Thus whiles delayes of this siege were made, the kings campe was brought into great extremitie: and all men thought that the Duke of Anjou should haue bene constrayned to raise and dissolue the siege, without his purpose. Wherevpon the king wrote vnto his brother, willing him to make speede in assaulting the towne: and to winne the same out of hande, or else to rayse the siege. For by this tyme the Duke of Anjou had spent fise Monethes. Therefore he appoynted the sixth day of Aprill to giue an assault, on the which day the whole armie assailed the towne.

THE seuenth day, about fise of the clocke in the morning, the kings campe beganne a freshe to batter with greater violence than they had done, befoze the gate Cogne, and the Bulwarke l'Euangile. Thus after long batterie, that part of y wall was beaten downe to the ground, and the greatest part of the bulwarke l'Euangile battered downe. Therefore the kings armie prepared themselues to enter the breache. Who tooke out of euerie bande onely twentie: and first of all, the forefront

The extremitie of the kings campe.

The Cazemates taken and forsaken againe.

front tooke two of the Cazemates from the townesmen: which notwithstanding they enjoyed but few houres. For the townsmen lustily discharged theyr greate Gunnes agaynst them, whereby they slewe many of the kings souldiers: and when they of the towne had made a newe supply of men, they constrained their enemies to forsake their Cazemates: an act verily at the first assault verie manly and valiant.

In the meane time, about the same houre the kings armie gaue an assault on the other part at the bulwarke l'Euangile, and setting vnto the same a brydge made with proppes and Hoies, they tooke some part of the same: then to this part they came running by beapes, hauing two hundred Coxlettes bearing shields and targets before them. At the same moment also the great Gunnes went off as thicke as possible they might agaynst the towne, and the townsmen sustayned great losse and dammage. For the accounte being made, it is sayde that there were heard the same day two thousand & five hundred blowes of great Gunnes. The townesmen valiantly put forth themselves for their defence agaynst theyr assailling enemies. The women couragiously threw also vpon them fierie houpes, pitch barrells burning, and balles of fire, and such kinde of fireworke, by which they did greatly annoy them.

Thus the enemies preuailling nothing at all were repulsed. Of the townesmen there were threescore slaine, and certaine chiefe Captaynes also, and many wounded. And of the kings side (as hath appeared by their own wrytings and report) there were about thre hundred slaine, and many wounded. Among the noble men were wounded the Duke of Nivern, the Marques of Neme one of the Duke of Guises brethren, & M.d'Gast, of Daulphine, which was in great fauor with y<sup>e</sup> duke of Anjou.

The day following about right of the clocke, the kings armie gaue another assault to the towne: notwithstanding the townesmen repulsed them with like courage as they had done before, & with the same successe. Also they preferring themselves to geue the like assault about five of the clocke in the afternoone, the townesmen being in like maner ready to receyue

Book. ij.

them,



A signe in the  
ayre.

them, left off their enterprize.

The same night there was manifestly seene in the ayre a great fire, whiche had the forme and similitude of a Dragon, which fell into the sea in the sight of many.

Smoke made  
in the Citie.

The towncsmen to the end they might haue libertie to mend and repayre theyr walles, made a smoke so thicke and darke, that the whole campe was inclosed as it were with a cloude. In the meane tyme there were throwne oute of the Citie in plentifull wise suche fire workes as were named before, to the greate horroz and feare of the besiegers, as they themselves report.

The next day, the kings armie stode in battaile aray, euen as if they would haue giuen an assault: notwithstanding the Rochellians being readie to receyue them, they stayed from theyr purpose. In the meane tyme there were discharged from the kings fortifications fourescore shot of great Gunnes. In the euening the enemies made a great shout and crie in the campe of purpose, as if they had bene oppressed with some enemy (which we call a false Alarme) thereby to entice forth the towncsmen.

The tenth day, about foure of the clocke in the morning, the enemy stode arayed in diuerse pearcing battayles. Which was a signe of an intended assault. Whereupon all the towncsmen prepared for their defence, women also were appoynted to their charge, yea children were not ydle: Aboute sixe of the clocke, the kings power with great violence assailed the bulwarke l'Euangile. And on the other part manie of the enemies were discovered to scale the gate Moline.

At Taddon Countie Luden being with his bande, was also come to the tower of Moline: notwithstanding he was sone repulled thence by the whotte and scarce shotte of the greates Gunnes discharged by the towne. Ladders were set to the walles, and the towncsmen in the meane tyme making no resistance, they climbe them: but when manie of them were come to the top of the Ladders, and the sayde Ladders fully replenished, by and by those towncsmen which before lay hid, discovered

The scaling  
ladders are  
ouerthrowne.

discovered themselves, being prepared with speares and long poales, and ouerthrow their ladders with so violent an assault, that euen with one force, as it were, they being repulsed, the troupes whiche abode at the lower part of the walles were made asfearde with the great noyse and crie of those that fell: and being put to flight with the great plentie of shotte, ranne away like madde men, and cast themselves headlong into the Marshes for feare.

Then incontinently the women went forth with spits and shouels, & such like apt weapons belonging to womens war, with the whiche they layde at those whom they founde ouerthrowne, and easily slue them, and caried away the spoyle, no man resisting him. On the other part, the townesmen no lesse valiantly behaued themselves in fight at the Bulwarke l'Euangile, insomuch that the showering Gunshot neuer missed the heades of the Catholikes, who were also much annoyed with fireworkes cast out of the towne vpon them. Therefore the kings side was constrained to retyre, aboute thre hundred souldiers of his being lost at that charge.

The victorie  
gotten by  
women.

The next day after the Catholikes fortifyed with a rampire that part of the Bulwarke l'Euangile, which they had taken: and when they had set themselves in battaile aray making a shew as if they would haue giuen a newe charge, they departed without any enterprise, perceyuing that the townesmen prepared themselves for their defence.

They made also a mine for that bulwark: and made a rampire ouer against the same to annoy the townesmen: for y<sup>e</sup> which the townesmen provided in making a countermine with a gate to the same conveniently, belonging for sodaine eruptions.

About sixe of the clocke in the euening the Rochellians cried Alarme vpon this occasion: A certaine woman, whiche was gone downe into a certain Wineseller to drawe wine, hearde the voyce of a man speaking: By which she thought that the enemies had made theyr mynes so farre: and therefore cryed oute. The people at thys crie armed themselves. But after enquirie made of the matter, it was founde oute that

K. liij.

certaine



certayne of the townesmen, by the commaundement of the Maior, were searchyng for the conducte pypes which serued the towne with water.

The same day great stoare of corne, & great plentie of munition for warre was brought into the kings campe.

The day followyng, another parte of the bulwarke l'E-uangile whiche remayned of the former breache, was beaten downe by a violent batterie : by the fall whereof many bothe of the Townesmen and also of the Catholiques, were slayne, and with them a certayne Captayne whiche had conducted a bande of souldiours to that parte to gyue an assault.

The next day there was nothyng done worthy to be spoken of, sayyng that the townesmen castyng fire into the ditche brente certayne souldiours and pioners. The same day the townesmen brake forth at the Casemates belongyng to the bulwarke l'Euangile, and slew many of the kyngs souldiers, and brought theyr armour into the Citie. On the other parte the great gunnes went off from the towne agaynst the kings fortres, whereby many of the Catholiques were slayne.

The nientene day shippes were discryed in the sea appoynted and prepared for warre : the whiche roade at anker within a myle of Rochel hauen called Chef-de bois. By and by the Kyngs nauie was prepared : and out of the kyngs armie bandes of souldiers were appoynted to defende the coaste : and others to furnishe the shippes : and straye way a notable peale of thunderyng shotte was rung betweene them.

This nyghte at the commaundement of the Rochellians, a Captayne went forth with one shippe, and notwithstanding that the enemy resisted, he came in safety vnto the Paruie of Mongomerie, of whome they receyued a signe that ayde was come to them of Rochel. Notwithstanding those shippes were diuided in the mornyng. So the Catholiques returned into the campe. Aboute the euenyng there came a messenger, whiche tolde that those shippes were not farre off.

Whereas the townsmen wente about with great diligence to

Mongomerie  
nauie within  
sight of Ro-  
chel.

to repayre the breach and ruine of the bulwarke l'Euangile, the Catholiques sought to beate it downe with shot. Two of the kings armie fled to the gate d'Molines to the townsmen notwithstanding the showers of shot which were discharged after them.

The townsmen made a countermine, agaynst that mine whiche the catholiques had made for the bulwarke l'Euangile. To this they set fire, but because there was not sufficient store of gunpowder in the same, they labour was lost.

The nexte day a newe charge was gyuen. The same day there came vnto Cogne, Monsieur Oars, and Rolli, to speake with the Maior in the Duke of Anjou his name. The cause of this parley was, that wayes myghte be taken for peace. To the kyngs Ambassadors came the Maior, Nortius the Pastor of the Church, and Monsieur Essarz, and diuers others: and when they had spent certayne howeres in communication togyther, they returned into the Citie. About eight of the clocke the Catholiques blew by the mine whiche they had made at the bulwarke l'Euangile. The earth falling ouerthwartly slewe many of the Catholiques, and firene of the townsmen. At this tumulte all the whole citie was armed: but not one of the Catholiques appeared.

The day followyng, a freshe assaulte was giuen, that the pioners whiche made amine, by the noyse of the gunnes might not be perceyued of the townsmen.

The nexte daye the same Ambassadors came agayne aboute the treatie of peace: when as notwithstanding they fellows persisted no lesse belement than they did before in giuing the assaulte.

In the dead time of the nighte of the same day, a piercyng battayle of the Catholiques, beyng conducted by skillfull and balliant captaines wanne the ditche: notwithstanding they were constrained to retire with great losse of their men. Then began the great gunnes to thunder.

The twentieth day, there was a soze charge gyuen agaynst the bulwarke l'Euangile by the Catholiques: And euen in  
the



the middest of the fight, fyre was put into the myne, the which the Townesmen foreseeing, auoyded the daunger thereof, and beguyled the enemye. They fought for the space of fve houres without slaye or retraite. Fiftene of the Townesmen onely were slayne, and thirtie hurte: but verye many Catholiques were losse, who susteyned great damage by the townesmen at the drawe bridge, out of the Casemates.

The last day the townesmen made an inroade to the forts of the Catholiques, and slew many of them: and then with losse of some of their men, returned into the citie agayne. The Rochellians sende their requestes concerning the peace to the duke of Anjou.

Maye.

The firste daye of May, the townesmen set by vppon the walles green boughes, in token of ioy, and sang Psalmes vnto God, playing with cornets and trumpets, & ioyning thereto the noyse of Gunnes. In the nyght they burnt vp the greatest parte of the drawe bridge.

The next day Monsieur Oars brought the kings answer from the Duke of Anjou to the Rochellians concerning theyr demaunds. In the nighte followyng, the townesmen brake out of their countermine into the Catholikes myne, and dyuyng from thence the Catholiques, and placyng watche and warde there, they ouerthrew the same.

The two nexte dayes were spent with two fortunate eruptions, & with taking consultation concerning the kings answer: Euery townesman without exception, had leaue to come to this consultation: and the daye and place of meeting was appoynted.

The fourth day of this moneth, the Paule spoken of before, was more playnely to be scene, at the syght whereof, the Catholiques withoute delaye armed themselves. For it was Countie Mongomerie with fiftie sayle greate and small. And thus it fared with Mongomerie. Mongomerie comming into Englande, laboured by all meanes to obtayne ayde at the handes of Elizabeth the Queenes maiestie of England. The whiche hir Maiestie denyed, bycause of the league whiche she had

had made with the king. Therfore Mongomerie tooke an other way, getting into his handes partly by loane, and partly by gift, of English, Frenchmen, and the lowe countrey men of Flaunders fortie thousande frankes: and got leaue of the Queenes maiestie to furnishe a nauie so well as he could. Thus after long tranayle he furnished fiftie shippes. But occasion fell out, whiche delayed for a tyme that expedition and preparation. The Earle of Worcester a noble man of Englande went into Fraunce in the Queenes name, to baptize the newe boorne daughter of the French king, and to be one of the surties or witnesses for y<sup>e</sup> sayd child in his highnes name. In this passage certayn Frenchmen and Flemings set vpon him, taking from him one of his shippes, and killing certaine of his men. Hir highnesse taking displeasure hereat, commanded the matter to be enquired after: for the which inquisition he sent the Lorde Admirall, who setting vpon all the shippes of the Frenchmen and Flemings, toke & caried away whatsoeuer came to his hãds. So that twentie of Mongomeries ships were losse. So he came to the coast of Rochell with twentie ships of his nauie diminished. When he sawe the kings nauie prepared, and newe ships also to be furnished with other soldiours, he durst not procede in this enterprise: wherfore without assaying his enemies, he directed his course an other way, and vnloked for at Bell Isle, and there landed, and took both the Isle and the castel. The Rochellians perceiuing that Mongomerie was departed, and therfore being without hope of ayde, fortified the hauen all that they coulde wyth newe garrisons. Notwithstanding before Mongomeries departure, they set out one vnto him in a skyppe, wylling him not to put himselfe in peryll for theyr sakes: for they trusted yet in the goodnesse of G D D, and were of that mynd, that they would rather suffer any maner of extremitie, than to yelde themselves into the handes of suche men as were full of all treason, falshood, and periurie. After the which message Mongomerie sent a ship vnto the Citie with gunpowder and victuall, which came safely into Rochell, notwithstanding the kings force. And after this



(as we sayd) Mongomerie tooke a new biage.

After he had taried in the foresayde Ilande certayne dayes, and knew not wel which way to take, his souldiers also being obstinate and disobedient, returned into England, hauing lost his traualle, with a fewe shippes, the rest beyng left vppon the sea to robbe and spoyle, one of the whiche (whereof Monsieur Hippinnill was captayne) went to the enimie.

Monf. Colsine  
slayne.

To fortifie the siege of Rochel there came into the kyngs campe the fifth day of May foure thousand Switzers. Therfore certayne dayes following were spent in skirmishes, losse of men beyng sustayned on both partes. And amongst the chieftaines that were slaine, Monsieur Colsine captaine of the kings garde, beyng one of those whiche slew the Admiral, was one.

The forte l'  
Euangile als  
most wonne.

CERTAINE Catholiques got by vnlooked for vpon the bulwarkel' Euangile, and tooke the watch of the same, the warders being a sleepe, some of the which they slew. Wherevpon if the townsmen had not succored them in time, and resisted the other, or if a greater number of the Catholiques had bene present, the citie had bene in great daunger.

The next daye the townsmen gaue a worthy charge vpon the Catholiques of whom they slew many. There brake out of the citie five hundred at Cogne gate, and charged the enimie being intrenched and suspecting no such thing, by reason whereof they slew many of them, and put the rest to flight, & choked three of their great gunnes by dringng into them crosse barres of iron. As they were thus occupied, there came succours from the kings campe: and then began a sore skirmish. Notwithstanding the townsmen brought with them into the citie eight of the catholikes Ensignes, & great plenty of armour & apparel:

There were slayne in this skirmish two hundred catholikes, or thereabouts, & twentie only of the townsmen were wairing. The townsmen with great triumphe set vp on their walles those Ensignes which they had taken from their enemies.

The fixe and twentie day of this month the Catholiques began a newe batterrie, after the whiche they giue a freshe assaulte to the towne, beyng the most notable of all the reste that happened

happened in this siege. The commyng of the Switzers was the cause of this assault: who craved leaue of the Duke of Anjou that they might geue an assault to the citie, thereby to declare theyr loue toward the king.

Therefore al theyr bandes set themselves in battaile aray betwene the well & le Rouze, about seue of the clocke. The which they of Cogne perceyuing, discharged sune great perces, the shot wherof fel among the thickest of them, to theyr great damage. Therefore they wyfted their standyng. Also other bandes of the Catholiques were set in battaile aray in diuers places, euē as if they would giue an assault. In the meane tyme the great gunnes went off lustely on cyther part. But the greatest hope of the Catholiques rested in their mines, which were made in thre seueral places. The first myne hauing fire giuen vnto it, did small hurte, makyng a breach no bigger than for two men to enter at: whiche breach the townsmen stopte with greete diligence. Straite after the second was blowen vp with great force: and the thyrde made a greete noyse ouerthrowyng a great parte of the wall: notwithstanding so that the rubbell & matter of the wall fell into the towne: by the conuenient falling wherof the passage into the Citie was stopte agaynst the Catholiques. The Duke of Anjou was present himself, that by his presence he might encourage the souldiers. And the first onset was giue by Mons.<sup>r</sup> d'Gatte: but the townsmen so receyued him, that he was constrained to retire with great losse of his men. After him followed Mons.<sup>r</sup> d'Goaz, who with his bande entring the breach with a violent charge, at the first enforced the Rochellians to geue backe: but yet they persisted so valiantly in fight, that they slew Mons.<sup>r</sup> Goaz, and diuers other chiefe captaines and souldiers, and caused the rest to retyre. Then came the thyrde bande, who gaue the thirde assault with like successe as the other had done. During these assaults, the women toke suche great paynes in castyng downe fire woorkes in such abundant manner, that they deserue a great parte of the prayse of that victorie. And by the misse of a certaine smoke which the townsmen made of purpose, they fought with smal losse of men,



the number being fortye onely. But of the Catholikes, there were aboue foure hundred slaine, most of the which were cap-  
taynes, and souldiers of great skill, which fought in the fore-  
front. At Taddon also the townesmen had as happie successe in  
their fight agaynst the Catholikes at that time, as they had be-  
foze, going nowe aboute to winne the Citie by scaling the  
walles at that part. The walles of the towne were flying  
bryght with the flame of the burning fyrebrandes which lay in  
the ditches.

The next day the townesmen to scorne the enimie, armed  
their scullyons and slaues, and brought them forth at Cogne  
gate, with naked swordes in triumphant wise in their hands.  
The Catholikes armed themselves: and they streight way re-  
tyze into the Citie: the townesmen in the meane time calling  
the Switzers to battaile in diuision.

Letters con-  
cerning peace.

The Catholikes put into y<sup>e</sup> ditches certain gunnes, to shake  
downe the Calenates: but in vaine. By the commande-  
ment of the Maior threescore men, and women, and children of  
the rascal sort of people, were brought out of the Citie. The  
Rochellians were solicited to peace, a Harault being sent vnto  
them with letters of certaine of their familiar friends which  
were in the kings campe. In fine, the kings singular good wil  
to be at peace with them, was declared: they were also ex-  
horted not to depriue them and theyrs of so good an occasion of  
peace. The townesmen went forth to displace the fortres which  
were made ouer agaynst the gate of Sannicolas, whereupon  
ensued a great tempest of shot as thicke as hayle, to the annoy-  
ance of both partes.

June.

The day following, whiche was the first of June, foure  
townesmen making those asfearde which lay in the next tren-  
ches, and thought no doubt that there had bene a greater num-  
ber, and putting them to flight, no man making resistance, o-  
uerthrewe their baskets and bulwarkes.

There entered into y<sup>e</sup> Citie two Souldiers with letters from  
Mongomerie: in the which he gaue them to vnderstande that  
he was constrained to returne into Englande, to bring a  
greater

greater power, with the which he woulde shortly come vnto them: In encouraging them to goe forwarde in the same constancie, in the which they had by the goodnesse of God continued vntill that day.

Letters of  
Mongomerie  
to the Ro-  
chellians.

The Catholikes fortified the trench which was at the bulwarke l'Euangile, and that part also which was somewhat nearer to Sannicolas. A certaine Souldier craving leave of the Maior to go forth of the Citie, vnder pretence to assayle the enimie, fled into the kings campe. The Castmates were daily assaulted, but in vaine.

B V T the towne men were not onely bzged with external enmities, but also with domestical and inwarde extremities. Many were wearie of the war; and many feared the famine, by which the towne men feared greate destruction. Diuerse men diuerslye communed together, misliking all that they coulde of those extremities: there were manye of the rycher sorte which were grieved for the wasting and losse of theyr goodes: insomuche that by all maner of meanes they desired peace. Therefore they withstode the whole assembly. And certaine also had determined to take the gate, and to goe oute of the same. For this cause certaine of the welthyer sorte by the decree of the Senate, were put in prison. As yet the penurie of coyne did not greve the towne men, and yet notwithstanding their store was greatly diminished, which they feared daily more and more. But the Rochellians had store of Salt-fishe and wine. And it is wonderful which certaine honest and credible persons do report, which were at that siege, how that a certaine kinde of fishe came into the haven in such plentifull maner, contrary to their wonted custome, that the poorer sorte vbled to eate them in steade of breade, and that the same plentie went away almost the same day, when the kings army departed vpon the conclusion of peace. On the contrary part, no lesse extremities bzged the king, as the scarcitie of money, and the impacience of the nobles, which were wearie of the warre; coulde by no meanes be restrayned. And the king was vnable to hemme in or inclose the towne of Rochel, the same being so

A new kinde  
offishe in the  
time of the  
siege came to  
Rochel.



Duke of  
Aniouchosen  
king of Po-  
lonia.

large and populous, and the sea coast being so neare vnto the same. Therefore both partes were fully determined to conclude a peace. And to further this matter the Duke of Anjou, had ioyful and acceptable newes concerning the kingdome of Polonia. For the Duke of Anjou, by the meanes of the nobles of Polonia, was made king of Polonia, in the place of Sigismond, the former king of the same.

MONLVCE Bishop of Valence, had solicited the matter to the noble men of Polonia with great diligence, and with golden sermons: the whiche also he caused to be put in print, thereby seeking to win vnto his maister a kingdome.

A great scruple and doubt was obiected about the murders of Paris, the causes whereof by open rumors were layde vpon the Duke of Anjou. Notwithstanding Monluce so ordered the matter, that in the name of the Duke of Anjou, he perswaded the states of Polonia: Concerning the successe of the which election we will speake in another place.

Occasion of  
peace.

This therefore was a special occasion to rayse the siege. All this while the Catholikes came oftentimes to Cogne gate to intreate for a peace.

Amidst these communications of peace, the Citie was very neare intercepted, through the great securitie of the townsmen. For a hundred Catholikes with Ladders clymed vp to the toppe of the walles, and tooke a biewe of theyr Fortes: the which being disconered, the towneshmen cryed Alarme, and with speedie dispatch they were repulled and put to flight: but fiftene of them were slaine by falling from the walles into the Citie.

For ioy of the newes of Polonia, there were triumphant shouts, and thundring peale of great gunnes, both in the kings campe, and also in the nauie. There fell downe twentie cubites of the walles at this peale. To the ruine and breache whereof the towneshmen ranne out of hande, suspecting that the enimie was come, and stood armed in a readinesse for certaine houres.

After long contentions it was at the last agreed betweene the

the kings armie and the Rochellians, that the sayd Rochellians should go and submit themselves to the Duke of Anjou, and desire peace of him. Whereupon the Rochellians receyued in the name of the Duke of Anjou assurance of truce, and were cleared of the name of Rebels, with the which afore time they were called: the Rochellians complayning of the same vnto the messengers that were sent vnto them.

The same day the duke of Anjou went downe into a mine. A souldier knewe him, who by and by discharged at him his peece: with the shot whereof he slue a noble man which stode hard by him: and some of the haile shot ran through the russe of the Girtband of the duke of Anjou, and yet he had no harme: but not without great peril of his life.

The Duke of Anjou is in peril of his lyfe.

The Rochellians had intelligence given them that treason was a working agaynst them vnder the colour of a parley, whereby they were admonished to looke diligently about the, and to be in a readinesse. Notwithstanding the Ambassadors of peace come at the day appoynted, and by common consent truce is taken: the which notwithstanding was not obserued, the townsmen complayning that the kings souldiers had taken a biew of their ditch to their dammage. So that the truce being broken, a freshe battaille began betwene them, wherein seuen of the kings side were slaine, and of the townesmen, one yong man. About the Euening, by the Maiors commaundement, al the Citizens and other townesmen which were there present, were called together to heare the principal poynts and conditions of the kings peace.

Truce broken.

There came into the kings campe Ambassadors from Polonia, for the toy of whose comming, many peales of greate gunnes were shot off. monf. l' Noe returned to the parley with the townesmen in the name of the Duke of Anjou, the kings ordinance shooting off in the meane time. Shot also was discharged from the sea coast into the Citie: and at a window a nurse with a yong infant was slaine.

The Ambassadors concerning the peace making, returned agayne. But the purpose of the Catholikes was in time of the



## The eleuenth booke

the parley to blowe vp a myne. This the towneſmen underſtoode : whereupon all men at the Mayors commaundement were ready in armour. Therefore they determined to deferre the matter untill the parley were ended. They had great hope to preuaile in the breaking vp of the myne. About the Evening ſire was ſet to the myne, the whiche being blowen vp, ouerthrewe the wall, notwithstanding to ſuch aduantage for the towneſmen, that the enimie could not ſo eaſily enter as before he might haue done : alſo one of the kings great Gunnes fell into the diſche. In the meane time the ordinaunce in the ſhips vpon the ſea coaſt were not vnoccupied.

Peace concluded betweene the king and the of Rochel.

The cauſe of another parley was, for that the Rochellians ſayde that they had not theyr owne cauſe alone in hande, but the cauſe of other of their brethren alſo : requyring that they which had borne armour for the ſame cauſe, might bee prouided for by the ſame benefite of the Edict.

They of Niſme, and of Montauban, and others whiche had taken their part, were eaſily admitted to the ſame benefite. But at the firſt the Duke of Anjou excluded them of Sanſerre, and Daulphine. He greatly withſtood the Sanſerreans, whome he thought might eaſily be overcome, being farre ſet and ſeparated from the helpe of theyr fellowes. About that time the ryiſing of them of Daulphine hauing Mombrune and other noble men theyr captaynes, was very weake and of ſmall power. Notwithſtanding he promiſed that he would haue conſideration of them both, and that they ſhoulde bee partakers of the ſame benefite with the Rochellians. Neuertheleſſe in the Edicte it ſelfe, of the which we will make mention anon, he ſpeaketh nothyng at all of them, notwithstanding the condition of the Rochellians. This alſo was the kings dyſt, namely that by private Couenants and agreements, he might diuide the religious one from another. Therefore he thought it good to take peace with the Rochellians, to ſhutte the reproche of the ſoyle, as though by conſtraynt he had rayſed his ſiege. Alſo the preſence of the Ambaſſadors of Polonia byged him, before whom he thought it not conuenient for his dignitie to ſuſtain ſo great diſhonour :

dishonour: and therefore he provided for the same by a speciall remedy: least with shame, his armie should be constrained to depart after so long a siege: specially such honorable & famous personages of a strange countrey being present. The Duke of Anjou sayd, that both at their instance, and also at the intercession of the Rochellians, he forgave much. The Rochellians both earnestly desired to be deliuered from the extreame troubles of the long siege, and also were very carefull for that which should followe afterwarde. Therefore at the last they concluded with the Duke of Anjou. The covenants whereof ye shall heare anon.

THE Duke of Anjou sendeth to the King, the agreement made with the Rochellians, that he might confirme the same by his authoritie, & might cause it to be drawn in forme of an Edict. In the meane while, truce was taken for sixe dayes. The townesmen come into the kings campe, bring wine vnto his souldiers, and receive meate and other food of them again: they saluted also & talked friendly one with another. Notwithstanding, watch & ward was kept diligently within the citie, & to awake those which were secure vpon trust of a large peace, a tumult was raised of purpose by captaine Norman, even as if the enimie had bin come. At the last the kings forts and bulwarkes were overthrowne: and the great gunnes caried away. The townesmen also for toy made bonfires in diuers places of the towne: and certayne noble men had free leaue to go from the kings campe, and to enter into the citie.

The tenth day of June monsieur Biron, hauing certayne Heraldes of Armes attending vpon him, entered into the citie: and in every corner and principal streete of the towne, proclaimed the Edict of peace in the kings name. The same day Shippes laden with Wheate, and other victuall came into the haven, with the scarcitie and penurie whereof, the Rochellians beganne now to be higen.

The tenure of the Edict now followeth, as it was let down and signed by the King.

By the King Charles

The Edict  
proclaymed.



The Edict of  
peace, made  
the .ii. of Au-  
gust An. 1573



**C**HARLES by the grace of God, king of France  
to all present, or to come, greeting.

Our intent hath alwayes bene, and is, after the  
example of our predecessours, to rule and gouerne  
our realme, and to receiue of our subiectes their obeysance to  
vs due, rather by gentle & by louing manner, than by force.  
Wherefore our most deare and welbeloued brother the King  
of Polonia, hauing full vnderstanding of our will and plea-  
sure, hath appoynted and deputed certayne of the chiefe perso-  
nages of our priue counsell being with him, to heare and vnder-  
stande, the complayntes, griefes, and supplications, of the  
Maioz, Sheriffes, and Counsellors, dwellers, and inhabitants  
of our towne of Rochel, Gentlemen and others that are there  
abiding. And for as much as it is so, that now in the end, our  
most deare brother the sayd king of Polonia, according to our  
pleasure and good will, hath (by the aduice of our most deare  
and welbeloued brethren the Duke of Alencon, and King of  
Nauarre, & our most deare and welbeloued cousins, the Prince  
of Conde, and Prince Dauphine: the Dukes of Languueille, of  
Guise, Neuers, and of Vzes: the Lorde of Monluce, Count of  
Retz, of Biron, of Villequier, of the chappell Auxursins, of Los-  
ses, of Vanguion, of S. Supplice, of Malicorne, of Suze, the  
graund Prioz of Champaigne, and other great & notable per-  
sonages being with him) made agreement with the sayde in-  
habitanes of Rochel, Gentlemen and others rettyred thither,  
vpon the payntes and articles that shall be hereafter specified,  
as well for them selues, as for the inhabitantes of our townes  
of Montaubane and Nismes, the gentlemen and others retired  
vnto the, & others our subiectes, for whom they haue made sute.

We let you vnderstand, that, considering we cannot do bet-  
ter, than to folow the counsell which is giue vs by our said bre-  
thren, & others aforesaid, who for the zeale they haue to the ho-  
nor of God, with the experience they haue in many things, &  
the affliction they beare towarde the well ordering of our af-  
faires, haue more knowledge than any other in those matters,  
what is meete & necessarie for the profite and comoditie of our  
realme.

realm. We by the aduice & counsell of y<sup>e</sup> Queene our most honorable lady & mother, & our priuy counsell, for y<sup>e</sup> matters & causes aforesaid, & for other good & great considerations therunto specially mouing vs, haue said, declared, decreed & ordained by this our present Edict: and our wil & pleasure is as foloweth.

FIRST, that the remembrance of all things that haue happened, by occasion of the troubles and strys in our sayd realme, since the .24. of August, in Anno MDLXXII, shall remayne wholly quenched and appeased, as things that had neuer happened: neyther shall it be lawfull or permitted to any of our Atturneys generall, or any other person eyther publike or priuate, in what time so euer, or for what occasion so euer it be, to make any mention there, nor any processe or lute thereupon, in any court or iurisdiction.

Forbidding also all our subiectes, of what estate or qualitie so euer they be of, that they reuue not the memorie thereof, nor to contende, nor to reuyle, nor to prouoke eyther other by reproching them with things y<sup>e</sup> be past, in disputing, rehearsing, quareling, or doing outrage or offence one to another, in word, or in deed, but to forbear, and to liue peaceably together as brethren, friendes and felowecitizens, vpon payne to them that shall doe the contrarie, to be punished as breakers of the peace, and disturbers of the common quiet.

We ordayne that the Catholike and Romishe Religion be set vp againe, and established in all places and quarters of this our realme and countrey, vnder our obedience, where the exercise of the same hath bene left off, and that it may be freely and peaceably exercised without any trouble or let, vpon the paines aforesaid: and that all those which during these present wars, haue entred vpon houses, goods, and reuenues belonging to the Churchmen, and other Catholikes, and such as holde and occupie the same, shall leaue vnto them, the full possession and peaceable enjoyning thereof, in all freedom and safetie.

And for to giue occasion to our subiectes, abyding and inhabiting in our sayde townes of Roehel, Montauban, & Nismes, to liue & remayne in rest, we haue permitted, & do permit vnto them



them, the free exercise of the religion, called Reformed, within  
y<sup>e</sup> said towne, the same to cause to be exercised within their own  
houses, or place to them appertayning (except alwayes publike  
places) for the, their families & others that wil be there present.

- V. And to all others of the sayde Religion, (called Reformed) which haue continued therein vntill this present, we doe  
permit to retorne into their houses where they may be, and re-  
mayne throughout all other partes of our Realme, to goe  
and come, and to liue in all libertie of conscience: And to the  
Gentlemen and others, hauing bygh iustice, which in like ma-  
ner, haue hitherto remayned till this present time, in the sayde  
religion, bearing Armes with the said inhabitants, in the said  
townes, since the said. 24. of August last past: We do also per-  
mit to liue in the same libertie of conscience in their houses, &  
there only to baptise and marry after their accustomed maner,  
not hauing any assembly (beside the kinred, Godfathers, and  
Godmothers) aboue the number of tenne persons, and that not  
within our Court, nor within two leagues about the same,  
nor in the towne, Prouostshippe, and Vicount of Paris, nor  
within tenne leagues about the same towne.

- VI. We charge our Baylyffes, Seneschals, and ordinarie Jud-  
ges, or other Substitutes, each one in his libertie and iurisdic-  
tion, to prouide for the burial of the dead bodyes of them of the  
sayde religion (called Reformed,) in the most commodious  
maner they can, and without offence.

- VII. If any of the sayd religion, haue bin constrained to make  
promise and bonde, and to giue assurance to change their reli-  
gion: we haue discharged the same to be admitted, and of  
none effecte or value.

- VIII. The schollers, sickmen, & poore, of what religion soeuer they  
be, shal be indifferently receiued into the vniuersities, common  
scholes, hospitallies, houses for sicke persons, and almes houses.

- IX. We do permit to al our subiects being of the said religion,  
that they may sel or alienate their goods, and go freely with al  
their money, and other moueables, whether it shal seeme good  
vnto them, or to enioy the commoditie & benefit thereof, in what  
place

place soeuer they shall resort vnto, be it within or without the Realme, so that it be not in the landes of suche Princes, wyth whome we may haue warres.

Our sayd subiects of Rochel, Mountaban, and Nismes, and other before named, shall remayne quit and discharged of all summes of money, goodes, depres, arrerages of rents, profits and reuenues of Ecclesiasticall persons, and others which they shall sufficiently make apparant to haue bin by them taken or leuied, since the sayde. 24. of August, so that neyther they nor their committies, nor those that haue furnished them with any thing, or deliuered the same vnto them, shall any wayes bee charged nor condemned therfore at this present, nor for the time past, nor at any tyme hereafter.

Likewise they shall remayne acquitted and discharged of all actes of hostilitie, leauying & conducting of men of warre, coyning of money, casting and taking of ordinance and munitions, making of Powder and Saltpeter, Prizes, fortifications or enterprises vpon townes, pulling downe of Churches, houses, or other places, prizes of Shippes, Galleys, and goodes vpon the Sea, establishment of iustice and iudgemets, and the executions thereof, as well in cases ciuill as criminall, voyages, intelligences, treaties, and dealings had for theyr ayde and conseruation, and generally of all that hath by them bin done, wrought or committed to that effect, as well within as without our Realme, since the sayd. 24. of August, as well as if the same were particularly expessed and specified, so that for none of the thyngs before named, or others past and done, shall be imputed to them or to theyr posteritie any cryme of Rebellion, disobedience, or treason.

We do declare, that we holde and repute all those aforesaid for our good, loyall, and faythfull subiects and seruantes, so that they do sweare vnto vs all obeylance & fidelitie, and do leaue off and desist wholly from all suche associations as they haue within or withoute our Realme, and that they doe not hereafter make any gatherings of money without our permission, nor enrolments of men, congregations, or assemblies, o-

ther

x.

xr.

xii.



ther than those whiche are aboue to them permitted, and that without Armes, vpon payne to be rigorously punished, as cōteynners of our commaundements and ordinaunces.

XIII. All prisoners taken in warre, or others that bee holden in prisons, galleys, or els where, for the cause of Religion, and by occasion of these present troubles, shall bee enlarged and set at libertie, without paying of ransome, not meaning heereby, that the ransoms which are already payed, may bee asked againe, of those that haue receyued them.

XIIII. Those of the sayde Religion shall not bee overcharged, or burdened with any charges ordinarie or extraordinary, more than the Catholiques.

XV. We haue declared and doe declare, all defaultes, sentences, iudgementes, Arrestes, processees, seysures, sales, and decrees made and gyuen against those of the Religion called reformed, which be or haue bin within the sayd towne of Rochell, Montauban, and Nismes, since the sayde. 24. of August last past: which haue bin giue without hearing the parties, or their Proctors by them appoynted, since the sayd. 24. of August last past, also the execution of the same, as well in cases ciuill as criminall shall be voyd, reuoked and adnulled. And the processees shall remayn in y<sup>e</sup> same estate as they were before, and the foresaid persons shall enter again vpon their temporal goodes, whatsoeuer seysures, sales, and iudgementes haue bin made by vs or otherwise, without making any recōpence for the same.

XVI. And touching heires, widowes, and other hauing any right or title fro such of the sayde Religion, as are deceased within the sayd towne, y<sup>e</sup> haue bin there or borne Armes for them, in what part of our Realme soeuer it be since the said. 24. of August, we permit to them to reenter into the possession and enioying of the goodes, left by the sayde persons deceased, and we do mayntayne them in they<sup>r</sup> good fame and reputation.

XVII. All officers of the sayd towne of Rochel & Nismes, as well pertainning to the Crowne as others, of what religion soeuer they be, y<sup>e</sup> haue bin put out thereof, by reason of the same Religion, & of these present troubles, shall be set again in their estates, charges,

charges, and offices, and other officers of other towne & places  
shal obserue our declarations therevpon made and published.

And to y<sup>e</sup> end y<sup>e</sup> iustice be ministred without any suspition  
to our subiects of the sayd towne, and others that be rettyred  
into them since the said. 24. of August, we haue ordryned and  
doe ordeyne, and our will and pleasure is, that all processe,  
and differences moued, or to bee moued betweene the parties  
of contrary Religion, as well on the parte of the demaun-  
dant, as of y<sup>e</sup> defendant, what matter so euer it be, ciuil or cri-  
minal, shal be heard at y<sup>e</sup> first instace befoze our Baylifes, Se-  
neschals, & other our ordinarie iudges, according to our ordi-  
nances. And where any appeale shal happē in any our cours  
of parliament, ther shal be provided for thē by vs only within  
the space of one yere, (accompting from the day of the publi-  
catiō of these presents) Judges vnsuspected, such as shal seme  
best vnto vs (except alwayes the court of Parliament of Tho-  
louise) in respect of those of Mountauban: and in the mean time  
they shal not be constrainyd to appeare personally.

XVIII.

And for as much as many particular persons haue receyued  
and suffered so many iniuries & domages, both in their goodes  
and persons, as hardly they can forgette the remembraunce of  
the same, so soone as were requisite for the execution of our in-  
tent, we willing to auoyd all inconueniences, & to giue some  
mean for those that might be in some feare, that vpon their re-  
turne to their houses they should not be at rest, til such rancor &  
enmitie might be alwaged, haue graunted & do graunt to them  
of y<sup>e</sup> sayd towne of Rochel, Mountauban, and Nismes, y<sup>e</sup> they  
shal enioy their priuiledges, both auncient and lately granted,  
and their authorities of iurisdiction and other rites, in whyche  
they shal be mainteyned & preserued, without hauing any gar-  
rison, neyther shal be made there any castels, fortes, or Cita-  
dels without the cōsent of the inhabitants of the same towne.  
Who for a demonstration & suretie of their obeyſance, obserua-  
tion & mainteyning of our will & intentiō, shal deliuer for the  
space of two yeres, four of y<sup>e</sup> principal burgeſes & inhabitāts of  
each of y<sup>e</sup> said towne, being of y<sup>e</sup> said Religion called reformed,  
y<sup>e</sup> which shal be by vs chose out of those y<sup>e</sup> they shal name vnto  
vs

XIX.



vs, and those to be changed euery three moneths, or in suche o-  
ther time as shall seeme good vnto vs, and they shall be put in  
such Townes and places as shall please vs to appoynt within  
fiftie miles off at the farthest from the sayde Townes, except  
in our Townes of Paris and Tholouse. And to the ende there  
be no occasion of complaynt or suspition, we will set in y<sup>e</sup> sayd  
Townes for gouernours, good men and well affectioned to  
our seruice, such as shall be vn suspected, willing neuerthelesse,  
that the keeping of their Townes, Towers and Fortresses,  
shall remayne in the hands of the sayd inhabitants, accordyng  
to their auncient Priuileges.

xx.

We will likewise, that incontinent after the publication of  
our present Edict made in our Camp and Arme, Armes shal  
be altogether generally layd downe, the which shall remaine  
only in our hands, and in our most deare and most welbelo-  
ued brothers the King of Polonia. We doe ordeyne that the  
forces as well by lande as by Sea, shall be withdrawen from  
before the sayd Townes, the Fortes made as well of the one  
part as of the other, shall be rased and ouerthrowen: the free  
traffique and passages shal be open agayne in al the Townes,  
Burrowes and Villages, Bridges and passages of our sayde  
Realme: the Forces and Garrisons which haue bin placed by  
occasion of these present troubles (since the sayd. 24. of August)  
in Townes and other places, houses and Castels, appertey-  
ning to our subiects of what religion so euer they be, shall de-  
part incontinent, to leaue vnto them free and entire enioying  
as they had before they were dispossessed of them.

xxi.

Such moueables as shall remayne in their nature, & whiche  
haue bin taken by way of hostilitie since the sayde. 24. of Au-  
gust last past, shall be restored to them to whome they belong,  
so alway that they pay to the buyers the price of suche as haue  
bin solde by authoritie of Justice or by other commission and  
publique commaundement. And for the execution of the afore-  
sayd, the withholders of the sayd moueable goodes shall be co-  
strayned and subiect to restore them incontinent and withoute  
delay, notwithstanding all obiections or exceptions, to yelde  
and giue the same to the buyers at the same price as they haue  
paid.

and restore them to the owners, for the price which they payd.

And as touching the profitcs of bnnoucable goodcs, as wel each man shall enter agayne into his house and shall enjoy on each part the fruitcs of the collection of this present ycare, notwithstanding all leasures and lettcs made to the contrary, since the sayd. 24. of August, as also every one shall enjoy the arrerages of the sayd rents, that haue not bin taken by by vs or by our commaundement, or the permission and ordinance of vs or of our Justice.

XXII.

Likewise that all titles, writings, instructions and evidences which haue bin taken away, shall bee rendred and restored on eyther part, to those to whome they belong.

XXIII.

We also ordeyne that those of the sayde Religion shall bee subiect to the politike lawes of our Realme, that is to saye, the Holydayes shall be kept, and they of the sayde Religion shall not worke, sell, or make any shew on the sayd dayes with open shop: and on fasting dayes in which the vse of flesh is forbidden by the Catholike and Romish Church, the Butcheries shall not be open.

XXIIII.

And to preuent all doyngs to the contrary that may happen in many of our towncs: The Bayliffes, Seneschals, or they? Lieutenants, shall cause the principall inhabitants of the sayde Townes to swear to the mayntenaunce and obseruation of this our present Edict, and the one syde mutually to gyue assurance to the other, and to binde them selues enterchangeably, and by publique Act, to answere to such disobediences as shall be committed against the said Edict within the sayd Towns, by the inhabitants of the same, or at the least, to bring forth and deliver the offenders into the hands of the Justice.

XXV.

We also charge all our welbeloued and faythfull people holding our Courtes of Parliamente, Chambers of our accompts, Courtes of Assistance, Bayliffes, Seneschals, Provoostes, and other our Justices and officers to whome it shall appertayne or they? Lieutenants, that they cause this our present Edict and Ordinance to be read, published, and registred in their Courts & Jurisdictions, and to keepe, maynteyne, and

R.

inviolably



inuiolably to obserue the same in all poynts: and that all those to whome it shall appertayne, maye enjoy, and fully and peacefully vse the content thereof. Ceassing and causing to be ceased all troubles and empeachments to the contrary, for such is our pleasure. In witnesse hereof, we haue signed these presents with our owne hand, and to the ende it may remayne a thynge sure and stable for ever, wee haue to the same caused to be set our Seale.

Given at our Castell of Bollogne, in the Moneth of July, in the yeare of grace. 1573. and of our raigne the thirtieth.

Signed, CHARLES.

And more lower was written,

By the King beyng in his Connsell.

Signed, DENEVF-VILLE.

And sealed with a Labell of red and greene silke, and with greene waxe, with the great Seale.

Read, published, registred, and the kings Atturney general being thereupon heard, at Paris in Parliament, the.ii. of August. 1573.

Signed, DE HEVEZ.

Collation made with the originall.

Thus signed, DE HEVEZ.

**T**HIS was the end and successe of the warre of Rochell, at what time the kings power being complete, and they of the Religion of small force, and as it were bitterly banquished, there seemed to be a perfect victorie and conquest offered: the which if it had come to passe (as by Gods wonderfull providence it fell out otherwise) according to the kings will, there would be bin no lesse outrageous murders committed in all

all parts of the Realme, to destroy those that remayned of the Religion, than afore time: in somuch that the bloud of y<sup>e</sup> same would haue flowed euē into forreyne nations also. But contrary to all hope and reason it fell out otherwise, the ministers and instruments of the murders them selues, comming to thys warre to receyue the iust vengeance of God for the innocent bloud which they had shed. So that certayne noble men, and also of the common sort were slayne in greate number whyche came by heapes to this warre.

**C**ONCERNING the Sanserreans wee haue spoken before, howe that the Lorde Chastre leauing off to assalte the towne any moze, intrenched the same rounde about, and made diuers bulwarkes and rampiers, placing in the sayd trenches a very strong garrison to hemme and inclose the towne men on euery side: Also we sayde that by reason of their negligence in prouiding corne & vittayle aforehand, ther ensued a wonderfull & almost incredible famine, whiche the translator thoughte good to set down at large as y<sup>e</sup> same is described by mons. Lyrre, who serued in the towne euē untill the same was yelded vp, as is sayd before.

Therefore whereas in the moneth of March vittayles began to waxe shorte and skante within Sanserre, and specially Beefe and such other fleshe whiche men vse to eate ordinaryly. The six. daye of the same moneth a Carthorse of Monsieur le Vailly de Iohanneau gouernour of the said towne, being killed with the shot of a Canon at the assault as he was drawing of fagots and Earth to the Rampire was cut in peeces, slayne, carried away, and eaten by the common people and the poore laborers and handicrafts men, who made report to euery man that they neuer eat better beefe in their liues. which thing made diuers that could not easily come by other fleshe to be desirous of it: who y<sup>e</sup> fourth day of April next folowing killed an Asse, which was sold presently for .iiij. pound Turnois a quarter, & found to be good meat of al such as did eat of it boiled, roasted, or baked, & specially y<sup>e</sup> liuer of it being roasted w<sup>th</sup> Cloues was like the liuer of Beale. Cruely at the first, some feeding moze of it



thā they were wont to do of other meates, were soꝝ that they had eaten of it. But within few dayes after, and before the .xx. day of the same moneth: it was a common food eue among the dayntiest soꝝte.

And although there were many Asses and Mules in San-serre by reason of the high situation of the place, whiche was il for Charets to come vnto: yet within one moneth they were all killed, dispatched and eaten in sted of Beefe, so as ther was not one left.

By meanes whereof hauing made too greate wast of theyꝝ flesh, in hope they should not haue indured so long a seerge: they were very soꝝ afterward ꝑ they husbāded the matter no better.

In the month of May they began also to kill their hoꝝes, which thing was the cause that aswell to pꝛeuent the stinche and infection that mighte ensue, by reason of the panches and dung in seuerall houses where euery man killed them at theyꝝ pleasure, as also to take order that the flesh should not bee deuoured so in comers nor sold at excessive pꝛice, the counceyl toke order that the hoꝝes should bee killed and sold in the ordinary shambles, appoynting the flesh of a fat hoꝝe to bee solde but at iij. sowles the pound, and the leane at two sowles, which thing was don by reason of the extreame couetousnesse of certayne persons, who felt not the hand of God fierce vpon them in that so miserable tyme.

Euery soule  
is .i. peny ob.  
Englishe.

For as shall bee declared heereafter in July and in the beginning of August, a pounde of hoꝝeflesh was solde at eygh- teene, twenty, and two and twenty sowles. And notwithstanding all the order and pollicy that could be taken, the best chepe was betwene tenne and thirtene sowles the pound, and the offals thereof were yet much more excessively deerer, whiche thyng did maruellously greue the poꝝe people. And I must heere tell you that hoꝝe flesh (by the reporte of suche as tasted well of them both) is better than the flesh of Asses or Mules. For although it be more nelly rawe than sodden: yet is it more fyne and substantiall, and it agreeth better with the nature of it to be boyled than roasted. And if a man will

will make good portage with it, whether he put it into the pot fresh or poudred, he must giue it longer seething, than to beef. The taste of it is somewhat like Porke, but yet somewhat nearer the taste of Beefe. If a man wyl bake it, he must neyther perboyle it, nor seeth it before, but season it with salte, vineger, and pepper, and let it bake sokingly in the crust. The fat of it is like the fat of Porke, and byteth not the delicate tong, and the lyuer is yet delicater than the rest.

But the famine increased more and more, and the Cats also hauing their turne, were within a little while all killed, slayne and eaten vp as Conyes, in somuch that the store and increase of them fayled, and in lesse than fiftiene dayes they were solde at .xv. sowles the quarter.

Moreouer by reason of the penury wherewith many men were pinched, they fell to catching of Rats, Moles, and Mice, and the hunger that pressed them, made them to deuise, inuent, and finde out all manner of traps: and ye should haue seene the poore children glad and well apayed when they had caught any Mice, which they broyled vpon the coales most commonly, without steaming or hulking of the. By reason of the great scarcitie of them, men did rather deuour them than eate them, and there was neyther tayle of beast, fete nor skynne, whiche was not suddenly gathered together, to serue for sustenance to a great number of needy people.

Those that were not dyuen to so great necessitie, did eate roasted Rattes, howbeit, they are much better stewed. Pea and which thing (I would not haue belieued, without I had had experence of it, or at least wile were well assured of it.) Dogges were not spared, but without lothing or mistaking, they were killed as ordinarily for meate, as men kyll sheepe at other times. Some of them were sacched, kylled, and solde for an hundred sowles, and for sixe poundes Turnoys a peere, The pounde and it was noneltie to buy a quarter of a Dogge for .xx. and Turnoys, is a .xxv. sowles: such as did eate of them sayde, that the flesh of about two shillings sixe them is verie good, and they made great cheare with the fete, pence Eng- the inwards and bellies of them stewed with spices and herbs. lish.



In so much that the heads of Calues, Horses, and Lambs, and the legges of Greyhoundes and Houndes, being roasted, were thought to be fine meate, and eaten as the inwards of an Hare. But specially the yong sucking and the little whelpes; were taken for yong Rabbet suckers. Neuerthelesse (to say what I knowe, by tasting thereof my selfe) Dogges fleshe is very flashe and wallowish sweete.

About the beginning of July, when there remayned yet twentie Horses of seruice, which were spared against the vttermost extremitie, the belly whiche hath no eares, and necessitie the Scholemistresse of cunning, made dyuers men to try whether the skyns of Oxen, Kyne, Sherpe, and other cattell, whiche hung a drying in mennes store houses and Barrets, could supply the place of theyr bodyes. And out of doubt, after that men had assayed it, and well washed, scraped, and scalded them: they found such sauour in them, that as soone as it was knowne, as many as had any skynnes, dressed them after the foresayde manner, and roasted them vpon a Greddyn like Trypes. Such as had any suet, greace, or tallow, made fricales of them in a pot, and other some dyd eat them with vinegar.

Howbeit aboue all skynnes, the Calues skynnes were founde to be exceeding good, and I haue eaten of them so delicate, that if I had not bene tolde of it, I woulde haue thought that I had eaten of the beste Trypes in the worlde. Afterwarde, the skynnes of Horses and of all other beastes came into the play: and the eares that remayned vpon the Asses skynnes, were not lefte behynde, but were helde and esteemed to be as tender and good meate as Hogges soule. The beste manner of dressing all sortes of hydes and skynnes, is not to pyl them and scalde them (as I sayde afore) but to nayle them, and strayne them vpon a boorde, and so to singe and scrape off the hayre of them more easily, as men do singe Bacon hogges. Afterwarde they must lye soaking a daye or twayne in water, and the water must be chaunged often times, and then they must be dreast and sodden, as we dressed them

them at our returne from a voyage whiche I made into the lande of Brazilie, called America, in the yere of our Lorde 1558. where hauing continued fyue monethes vpon the sea, without setting foote on lande, when as the hunger lasted still, whiche we had indured by the space of a moneth before, we were dyuen to eate the dye hydes of beastes, as bigge as a Bullocke of a yere olde, whiche the wylde people call a Tappirowson, for we dyd but lay them vppon the coales, and had not the skill to soften them, as men dyd the dy skynnes at Santerre.

The dearth was so great, that one foote of leather, or one pounce wayght of any maner of beastes skynnes, whatsoeuer they were, was solde for twelue or fyftee Souldes, and some skynnes were retayled for more than thyrtye Frankes, selling them vpon Tallyes and Skores, as in a Caterie or victualing house. And for as much as the provision of skynnes fayled, by reason of the narrow searcht of suche as were pinched with hunger: The finer witted sorte beganne to worke maisteries with Parchment, which taking good successe, made the people fall to it as to other things before, in so muche that not onely the skynnes of cleane Parchment were eaten, but also the Letters, Scrolles, and Bookes, as well prynced as in wrytten hande, were eaten without any stoppe, and the oldest and auncientest Bookes of an hundred or sixscore yeres olde, were sought out euerie where, and eaten by wythout seething of them.

The manner of the dressing of them, was to steepe them a daye or twaine as neede required, chaunging the water often, and to scrape them with a knyfe, as I tolde you afore of the skynnes. Then they boyled them a day or twaine till they became soft and tender, which was perceiued by this, that in drawing them out, and in breaking of them with ones fingers, they were scene to be clammy, and men fryed them as Tripes. Other some boyled them with Hearbes and Spices after the maner of a hotchpotch. Other some boyled them vpon the coales.

A Franke or pounce is about two shillings six pence English.

And



And I haue seene men eate the verie letters, in so much that the printing and witten hande appeared still, and a man myght haue read the morselles in the platter, when they were readie to be eaten. And to omit nothing wherewith the famished people might be relieved, the horse howes that were cast vpon the dunghilles, and the olde hornes and clees of Oxen and Kine, being gathered vp in the streates, were eaten and deuoured of diuers folke, who left nothing behynde them among the dung, no more than if Duckes and Hennes had scraped and pecked them, and the very hornes hornes of Lanternes were not forgotten: nowe if the streates and lanes were so narrowly sought and searched, to fill mennes bellies with the things that Swine and dogges would haue refused, and made none account of: the houses also were ransacked throughout, wher any moist or sauerly sustenance was thought possible to be had.

And for the better verisying of the thing that I spake at the beginning, the headstalles, raines, poytrels, croupers, and all other horseharnesse, specially of Whit leather, howe olde so euer they were, were dyessed, sodden, boyled and fryed. And ye should haue seene al kynd of dyessing of them vpon the stallies, where the retaylers of suche victuals solde them very deare. Also the yong chyldezen that had any leather gyddles, flocked together, and boyling them vpon the coales, brake their faste with them, as it had bene with Chitterlings made of guts. The greasie leatherne aprons of Shoemakers, and other artificers, and the synners of Oxen and other beastes, that had serued foure or five yeeres for wanties and packsaddles, vpon Asses and Mules, and for such other vses, were put to the same purpose. Moreover the leather Bottels, wherein vineger had hung a long whyle, the feete of Stagges, Hindes, and Gotes, whereat kayes were hanged, and the feete of great Swyne were not forgotten, but being boyled, roasted, and fryed, dyd serue many men for sustenance.

This is not all, for the pilches made of olde leather, whiche the Winedressers of the towne vled in plashing the Wines, and  
the

the olde thowles were also sodden and eaten. Furthermore the parings and scraps of poyntes, and the shreddings, and other such Pedlery stuffe, were not cast vpon the dunghils, but were fryed as Tripes. The skinner of Shepe, Gotes, Lambs, and other things that were to be conueyed to Fraunce, vnto Lions and other places, notwithstanding, the leather sellers had dyed them, serued in steade of steakes of mutton, and in steade of guttes to make puddings in, and suche other Galimatrefrys made of such scrapings and parings, wherewith they filled them together with hearbes and spices, and sold them verie deare: which thing I speake to make you perceyue that no manner of thing that could be found like the things aforesayd, hauing any moysture, taste, or saour, were left behynde. As for hearbes, they that had any Gardens, made more account of them, than of a good Farme.

For besides that, they founde them selues with them, dressing them after all fashyons that they coulde deuise, if any of them had hearbes to sell, (and specially myngling them with a little Bran) they made breade of them. If any man had of it to sell, he had what he would aske for it, and there was not a lease of Colwortes giuen for lesse than a Liard or four Deniers. Other hearbes were solde after the same rate, and the poore people ate greedily, of al sorts of rootes and wild weeds, yea and even of Hemlocke rootes, through the eating whereof, about a hundred persons became swolne, and were poysoned and dyed. And yet notwithstanding, if a man that sawe them gathering of them, and plucking them vp, had shewed the danger wherein they did cast themselves, he had spoken to deaf eares, for their bellies wold not consent nor hearken to it.

Paradine in his Story of our time, sayth that in the dearth which fell in this realme of Fraunce, in the yere of our Lorde God. 1528. many men poysoned themselves with the rootes of Hemlocke. And Matheolus in his Commentarie vpon Dioscorides saith, that he sawe a countryman and his wife almost out of their wits, by eating of it vnwares.

About the beginning of July, when corne was so scarce in

A Liard is  
the fourth  
part of a soule  
A Deniere is  
the twelfth  
part of a soule



Sanſerre, that more than three parts of the people had no bread at all to eate. Such as had oꝛ could come by any Linſeede, oꝛ Hayſeede, oꝛ by the Hay it ſelf, oꝛ other ſeedes that were neuer earſt thought vpon to be eaten, did grinde them and poune the, in a moſter, and made breade of the, according alſo as they did of all other ſorts of hearbes, yea & euen of the ſtraw of wheate & brayed, pilld, ſteeped, and finely ſtyed. Alſo Nutſhels were ſtamped in moſters of yron, and being beaten into powder, ſerued foꝛ Meale to make paſte & breade of. Moreouer, men did alſo bray Slats, & made bread of the ſteeped in water, ſalt and vinegar. The old reſuſe of talow, candles, and ſmeery greace, and olde fat & kitchinſtuffe, ſerued to make breuuelle & fritters.

The. viij. day of July they began to ſall to the reſidue of the Hozles that were left, whiche were ſoone killed and eaten, and they were ſold (by report) at theyꝝ weight of Golde: in ſomuch that the laſt weeke of the ſayd moneth, a pound of hozle fleſhe was ſolde foꝛ twenty and two and twenty ſowles, the heads of them at. viij. pound, tenne Sowles a peece, the fete at ſixe pound, which is. xxx. Sowles a foot, a pounde of the Liuer at. xxviij. ſowles, & a Liuer was found to wey wel neere ten pound, which amounted to. xiiij. pound the whole Liuer. The hart of a hozle was ſold at. xxviij. ſowles the pounde, and there were of them that weyed more than ſeuen pound, ſo as the whole hart came almoſt to ten pound. The Skinne was ſolde foꝛ meate at. viij. pound and. x. pound, and the inwards at. xv. ſowles the pound: whereof many folkes made Sawſages, whiche were ſounde to be better than the Sawſages that are made of Hogs fleſh. And a pound of the Greace was ſolde at thirty ſowles. Howbeit yet ſhall heare yet a more owgly thing: which is, that the bloud of a Hozle made in Puddings, (wherein was a fifth oꝛ ſixth parte of herbes) weying ſortie pound, were ſold foꝛ. xiiij. ſowles the pound, whiche amounteth to. xxviij. pound Turnoys. And therefore I cannot but ſay that the vnſatiable couetouſneſſe of ſuch as ſolde them ſo deere to the poore ſoules that were too much pinched otherwiſe already, ſhall not ſcape unpuniſhed. foꝛ (as it hath bene tolde them  
often

often times by Gods word) the end of such bloodsuckers is alwayes to burst when they be once full. It seemeth that there could not any thing be added to set out the miserable state of a towne beleeged, and so narrowly beset and hemmed in on all sides with strong Bulwarkes, and trenches, as it was very harde and in manner impossible to goe out of it or into it, and much more to bring or conuey any vittels into it.

For alas, the same thing fell out in Sanierre, whiche is reported by the Prophet Jeremy in the fourth Chapter and fifth verse of hys Lamentations, to haue happened in the seerge of Ierusalem, where suche as had bene wont to feede of fine and dayntie meates, perished for hungre in the streetes, and yet were fayne to eate the dung of men, and other beastes. For I am able to saye that the excrements, dung and offals were gathered vp and eaten, and men were seene to fylle theyr dishes with dung and to feede of it, and they sayde they founde it as good as Bread, and moreover they gathered vp all kynde of fylth and vncleannesse in the streetes, scraping abroade the dungbills to seeke for olde bones, olde hornes and other things incredible to such as saw it not, and which had bin able to haue poisoned me not onely in eating them, but also even with the stinch of them.

But O eternal God, behold yet further the fulnesse of gods iudgemēt, for as he protesteth in the. xxvj. of Leuiticus and in the. xxliij. of Deuter. that if they disobeyed his worde and commaundementes, he woulde bring them to suche an afterdeale, that when they were beleeged the mothers shoulde eate theyr owne Children: the poore people of Sanierre hauing not yet thoroughly profited by the knowledge that God sent them, nor feared y better by his scourges and chastisements, fel to y committing of an ougly barbarous & unkindly crime wīn their wals.

For the. xxj. of July it was discovered & complayned of, y a Winekeeper named Potard, & Eugenie his wife, and an olde woman that dwelt with them named Philip Ienillie otherwise called Lumeroy had eate y head, braines, Liuer & intrails of a yong daughter of theirs about the age of thre yeres,

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which



which had dyed of hunger for want of food, which happened not without the great astonishment and terrour of all such as heard of it. And surely when I my self, going to y<sup>e</sup> place of their abode, had scene the bones and skull of the heade of the sayde dead childe dressed and gnawed, and the eares of it eaten, together also with the tong of a finger thicke, sodden and ready to be eaten, at the verie time when they were apprehended: and the two thighes, legs and feete, in a kettie with vinegar, spices, and salt, ready to be set vpon the fire to boyle: and the two shoulders, armes, and handes, cleauing together, but yet clyued and opened in the bulke of the brest, ready likewise to be eaten: I was so abashed and dismayed at it, that all my body quaked. For although I had dwelled ten monethes together among the beastly Americanes, in the lande of Brazilie, where I sawe them oftentimes eat mans flesh, for they did eat the prisoners whom they tooke in the warres: yet did it neuer trouble my mynd so much to see them do so, as it vexed me to behold the sayd rufull sight, the like wherof (I beleue) was neuer earst scene in our realme of Fraunce.

The father, the mother, and the olde woman being taken and put in prison, confessed the fact without denyall. The mother said it was greatly to hir griefe, that hir childe was so cut in peeces, and that where as she had put vp the body in a winding sheete, and left it vpon a beere, while she went into the towne about a certaine businesse, minding to haue buried it when she came againe: at hir retorne, she founde it vnwrapped out of the sheete that she had wound it in, the body of it ript, and the bowels taken out of the belly, and the head, purtenance and tong boyling in a pot vpon the fire, which thing she shewed to hir husbando, and hee tolde hir that the sayde Philip had moued him to doe it, telling him that it were pitie to let the flesh rot in the ground, and moreover, that the liuer was very good to heale a swelling which he had, and therupon they ate the broth of it, and gaue hir likewise of it also, who did eat of it to. The olde woman dyed the same morning in the prison. And for as muche as the Iudges founde by searche, that this  
ouer-

ouerbreastly crueltie was committed rather of wantonnesse than by extremitie of famine, and that the selfsame daye afore the sayd Potard and his wife and the olde woman had given them in almes a messe of herbpottage and a quātitie of wine, for there was as then no falke of bread: To the intent to cut off the practising of suche horrible deedes within the Towne, the sayd Potard the father was condemned to be burnt quicke, and his wife to be hanged, beeyng fyrst drawen vppon a Hardle to the place of execution together with the body of the olde woman which was yet vnburiēd. Upon the mans words in that he tolde his wife that the olde woman had perswaded hym to eate of his owne child, it came to my remembrance how I had marked that the old women of the wild Americanes aforesaid, are more desirous, greedy and longing to eate of mans fleshe, than the men, or the yong women, or the Children are.

For when they see any Prisoner taken, they neuer leaue till they haue caused him to be slayne with such solemnitie as they obserue there, whiche I haue described in the discourse that I haue made concerning that Voiage. When the fleshe is layde vpon a Boucan as they tearme it, that is to say vpon a Gridiron of a three foote high, they throng about it to like by the fat that droppeth downe the stauēs of the Gridiron, saying in their tung Vgaton, that is to say, good, good.

And I beleue that the old folkes desirousnesse to eate mans fleshe after that sort, is for that they woulde by that meanes become yong againe. But I will leaue the discoursing of that matter to Philistions, and declare vnto you for a conclusion of this rufull Story, that about the .xxv. of Iune, one beeyng sore pinched with the rage of hunger, asked of me whether that in that extreme necessitie it were euil or offense to God, to eate of a dead mans buttocke that he liked well of or no. Whyche demaunde seemed so odious vnto me, that leauing him in the doubt and remorse of his owne conscience, I tolde him that the Wolues and wild beastes did not eate one another.

In the moneth of Iune, by reason of the greate dearth and scarcitie of vittalles, many poore people were thrust out of the

D.iii.

Towne,



Towne, which thing was done many times after. These being not suffered to passe the trenches and standings of theyr enimies that besegged them, nor to returne into the Towne agayne: were fayne to eate the buddes of Vines and Mulberry trees, gray Snayles and redde Snayles, and werdes: and after long pining, the most part of them died betwene the sayd trenches and the towne ditches. Howbeit among other pittifull things, one is, that a Vinekeeper and his wife were found dead togeather in their Vineyard, and two yong Children of theirs lay crying and wayling by them, whereof the yonger was not past a fyre weekes olde, whiche were soughte out and sent for by a noble Lady of the Towne, who did put them out to nurse, or else they had dyed out of hand. And as there dyed many in the Vineyards by the counterscarf, and in the townditches: so there died many moe in the houses, and they tumbled downe thicke in the streetes, in somuche that some tymes there were buried xx. or. xxx. in a day.

But specially the Children that were vnder twelue yeeres olde dyed almost euery chone. I beleue that the naturall appetite and heate that is in youth, wherthroughe they be alwayes desirous to feede, bycause their stomacks are warme and better able to digest than elder folkes, and therewithall haue not lyke patience and discretio, hastened the death of the sayd silly childre, which lay drawing of their breath, euen til their bones peered out of their Skynnes, & made wofull mone, crying out w lamettable voice befoze they yelded by their Ghost, alas we starue for hūgre.

That mans hart must haue bin harder than the stony rocke, & his eares deafer than the Adamant, which shuld not haue bin moued at the hearing of such things. There was a boy of ten yeeres olde, who lying in the pangs and extremitie of deathe, whē he heard & saw his father and mother lamenting by hym & handling his armes & legs which were as drie as a sticke, sayde vnto them: Why weep ye thus to see me dye for hūgre? I aske no Bread of you, for I knowe ye haue it not. But sith it is Gods will to haue me die so, it behoueth you to take it in good worth,

worth, did not the holy men Job and Lazarus suffer hunger as well as I? haue not I red of it in my Bible? And so hauing made his poore father and mothers hart to cleaue and they bowels to irne and sorow so much the more, bycause they perceyued that God had giuen him so noble a mind: he gaue up the Ghost and yekded his soule vnto God.

The .xxx. day of July and more than .xv. dayes before, yee should haue seene great numbers of poore folke lye staruing in the streetes, with grisly countenauce resembling rather dead bodyes of earth than liuing persons, which with an hollowe & piteouse voyce made lamētable mone, saying: Alas, if I might eat but one bit of bread of hey I shuld do wel. Alas, although I had any chaffe remaining (for sometimes they had chaffe giuen them) yet were I not able to pill it and to temper it, for I am ouer far spent. The wretched mothers carying the bodyes of their dead Childzen to the Churchyard (and dragging those after them by the hande that were left aliue) woulde saye vnto them, alas my poore Babe it will not be long ere thou folowe thy brother or sister that goes afore thee.

Neuer was there any thing heard of more pitifull and lamentable. But the greatest greefe y nipped such as heard & saw these things, was y they had not for the most part wherewith to remedie it, but wer fain to behold y sore & yet had not any medicin or plaister to lay vnto it. Neuerthelesse, euen in the midst of this great distresse & calamitie, ye shuld haue seene wonderful cōstancie, in somuch that they cried out vnto God still, saying: Alas Lord deliuer vs frō the scourges & rods wherewith thou doest iustly beate and chastise vs for our sinnes sake. Haue pitie vpon thy poore people, & in the midst of thy wrath remember thy mercy. Or if it be thy pleasure that we shall dye after this sort, graunt vs thy grace to trust in thee euē to y last gasp.

About the .xv. of July and so forth to the ende of the same moneth, and the beginning of August, the penurie grewe so greate that they began to kill the rest of the Horses that had bene reserved for the saide extremitie. For the outcry of the people, and specially of the Souldiers (howbeit that some  
which



which were most needy cryed not) was so greate by reason of the famin, that the owners of them had muche a doo to keepe them from them. Neuertheleſſe they ſolde them exceedyngly deere. For the horyles that were killed in Sanſerre to be eaten, which could not haue bin ſolde at other times for ten crownes a peece, were now ſolde for threſcore, foureſcore, yea and a hundred crownes a peece, and ſome at a hundred and fifty crownes. Laſt of all there was kylled a Gote, whiche was ſolde at tenne pound Turnois the quarter, which amounted in al to fyne and ſittie pound, as the woman that cauſed it to be killed confeſſed. Herewithall the blond alſo was ſolde at ſixtene or ſeuenteene Crownes.

Alſo ſixe Kine, and all the reſt of the Gotes that had bin continually reſerued to haue milke to feede Childzen with, were killed likewiſe, and I beleue there was not left paſt one Cow alyue wth bin the whole Towne. A pound of the ſayd Cowe Beeſe was ſolde for thirteene and fourteene Sowles, and for twentie Sowles.

The eyghteenth day of Auguſt, a pound of the Tripes was ſolde for tenne Shillings Turnoys, where as in time of peace, halfe a pound was worth no more but a Liard. A pounde of newe Come (whiche the morrowe after that they were ſure of peace was ſold for ſixe Blanks) was nowe ſold for eyghtene Sowles and eyght Deniers, whereas it had bin ſold afore for xrv. ſowles; and ſixe quarters of Gotes fleſh was ſold for. xx. Sowles. A Hen was ſolde for a Crowne and thre frankes: and a Cocke or a Pullet for as much: and an Egge for fyne or ſixe ſowles. During the moneth of Iuly and the firſte part of Auguſt, for asmuſche as there were certayne ſoulders of Come betweene the Towne and the Trenches of the enimies, ſuche as were diſperſed in the Vineyards, (namely ſuch as had bene put out of the Towne) togyther with certayne venturers and others that ſtole out in the nights, wēt as cloſely as they could in greate danger of theyr lyues, to cut downe and gather up the ſayde Come. But fewe of them eſcaped, by cauſe that they which kepte the Trenches hauing their Scoutes ſet by them,  
discoubred

discovered them immediately, and some dispatched them with Hargubulle shot, so as they wēt no more out of the field. The little that was brought home was sold exceedingly deere: in-  
somuch that a little Sheafe wherein there was not past an hand-  
full of Corne, was sold for .xij. oz. xv. sowles, and it was seene  
that five sowles were refused for fittie eares of corne, and hap-  
py was he that coulde come by it for any price, how great soe-  
uer it were.

For we practised that which is sayde in Job, namely that a  
man wil giue skin for skin, and all that he hath for his life.

The season of sowre grapes whereof many folkes lyued,  
came now in very good time. Some did eate them rawe, some  
baked in an Ouen, some boyled in water, and other some fryed  
and sawced with Mustard and spices.

The ripe Bullaces and other wylde frutes that coulde bee  
gathered among the Vines and Bushes about the Towne,  
were narrowly sought for and solde at the pleasure of suche  
as bzought them. Also the Thistles serued vs in steede of Dy-  
tichoks, and Nettles in steede of Spinage. To conclude this  
small discourse, in lesse than thre moneths during the siege  
of Sanierre, there was eaten more than two hundred Horses,  
Mares, Colts, Asses, Mules and other beasts of burthen, so  
that of all the number that were in the Towne after the besee-  
ging of it, there was but one left alpye, in steede whereof  
there was slayne an Ass that was caught among the Vine-  
yardes.

At the beginning of August the dearth and famine had kil-  
led more than foure tymes as many in Sanierre in six weeks  
as the sword had done in seven moneths and a halfe, durynge  
which time the seige lasted. For in the Muster booke kepte of  
all the Souldiers and other people that were slayne from  
the beginning of the seige to the twentieth of August, as well  
with shot of Canon and Hargubulle as otherwise, wer found  
but fourescore and tenne: and I am sure that the number of  
such as died for hunger in the Towne and of suche as were a-  
bout those that were shut vp in the same, was more than foure



hundred persons.

Who would not quake now at the hearing of such iudgements which God executed vpon the towne of Sanserre? For they that were beleeged felt by experience how true the saying of the Prophet is, that such as scape the Sword shall be overtaken with hunger, and that the hande of **G D D** (as the Psalmewriter sayth) stretcheth out whether sooner he listeth. Neuerthelesse let not suche as reade thys Booke thynke that they which were beleeged in Sanserre, were the wickeddest and most abhominable sinners in the worlde. For although they acknowledge theyr synnes before God, and haue sufficient warning to walke better in hys feare heereafter: yet is it not to be concluded, that suche as are chastised most roughly are therefore moste wicked. For as it is sayde in the Scripture, the Chylde whome the father loueth shall not be exempted from the Rod.

And as our Lorde Iesus Christe sayde to the Jewes of hys tyme. Those vpon whome the Tower in Silo fell, and those men whose bloud Pilate mingled with theyr Sacrifice, were no greater sinners than other men. But if they that haue knowledge of these things amend not theyr lyfe, they shall all perishe miserably. Whyche thyng I speake by the way, to the intent that the seige and famin of Sanserre may serue for an example, not only to suche as were at it, but also generally to all men, and specially to those that are Protestantes, who haue iustly lost a parte of theyr libertie whiche they hadde to serue God openly, and so hathe almost the whole Realme, because they vled it not to theyr profyte. And therefore I must not rest so muche vppon seconde causes, nor take vpon me to discourse of diuers thinges that haue come to passe in thys Realme, within one yeere, against the intent of our King.

For God who gouerneth all things by his wonderfull providence, hath guyded and directed the whole in suche wise, according as he sayth in his worde, that it is he that smiteth and maketh the wound, and it is he that healeth it againe. There is no more for vs to do, but to profit our selues by the things that  
are

are past, by amending our liues heereafter.

**I**N these great extremities the chiefe gouernours of the towne knewe not what to doe, and to yeelde them selues into the hands of the enimie seemed vnto them moze cruel than deathe it selfe: they had sente messengers into dyners places, to craue ayde and succour of their fellowes, but in vayne. They which had some abilitie to helpe the miserable besieged Sanserreans, therefore refused to ayde them, not that they misliked of theyr cause, or thought them woorthy of so greate miseries: but because they wanted money, the whiche in this unhappy tyme was hard to come by. Notwithstanding, the Kings treasure was spent in lenying bands of horsemen and footemen, to destroy the remaynder of miserable men. They whiche had a good wyll to helpe, were in so greate extremities, that being brought them selues into greate perill, were scarce able to withstande their assailing enimies. When they sawe that theyr fyrst messengers could not speede of theyr purpose, they sente agayne at the last (namely the .24. of July) Mons. Flore, Mine, and Crucian, the chiefe Captaynes, to proue whether their presence might preuaile moze to get help & succors, than their fellowes had done before. These wente out of the Citie with greate perill, & within certayn daies wer taken & slaine by their enimies.

**AFTER** newes herof was brought to the Sanserreans, they notwithstanding determined with them selues, to continue constant vnto the ende, being still in hope to receyue succours. Thus, whyle they armed them selues to perseuerace with new promises, tidings was brought them, that the king had taken peace with them of Rochell and Languedoc, but that there was no mentiō made at al of them: so that ther seemed to be no hope at al of ayd. Therefore while contentiōs arole among the townesmen, some thinking it best to persist, other affirming that so to do was mad wilfulnesse, and that they had rather dye once with the sword, than to make a long death by famine: Mons. Ioanneau the gouernour of the Towne, came at the last to parley with Mons. Martinenge a noble man, in whome the Sanserreans reposed great trust. The townesmen could scarcely be perswaded

The Sanserreans come to composition;



that they should escape with lyfe. But when the Lord Chastre had at the fyrst by Monf. Martinenge, and aft. rward by letters perswaded the Sanferreans, that euery one shoulde haue theyr lyues pardoned, then all men were glad hoping for peace, and that so greate miseries would haue an end at the last. Therefore after certayne dayes conference with the Lord Chastre, they agreed together vpon these Articles.

I. **FIRST** that the Sanferreans, and those which were come vnto them out of other cities of the Realme, shoulde be vnder the benefyte of the pacificatorie Edit, made the fourth day of August with the Rochellians, that is to saye, that they shoulde haue the free vse of the Religion, which others expressed in the same Edit, had.

II. Secondly, that the towneſmen shoulde be pardoned for all those faults which were committed in the time of this warre, with faythfull promise made vnto them by the Lord Chastre, that no manner of dishonest violence shoulde be offered to theyr liues, wiues, and daughters.

III. Thirdly, that they shoulde bee restored to the possession of theyr goodes: that they shoulde bee free from confiscation, and that all sentences of confiscation already pronounced, shoulde be reuoked.

IIII. Fourthly, that the towneſmen shoulde pay vnto the Lord Chastre forty thousand frankes, for the payment whereof, they shoulde haue theyr goodes preserued from the spoyle of the Souldiers, and it shoulde be lawfull for them to carry or sell the same else where at theyr owne pleasure, the whiche money was distributed to the Souldiers by the appoyntment of the Lord Chastre.

V. That the King should confyrme thys agreemente, by hys authoritie.

VI. And last of all, that the towneſmen should promise vnto the King al obedience euer after. And that they shuld giue twelue such hostages as the Lord Chastre shoulde name, vntill these things were fully perfourmed and accomplished.

Therefore the last day of August the Lord Chastre entred into

into the citie, with a greate trayne of armed men. And by & by were taken away from the Sanferreans, their drummes, trumpets, and ensignes. Monf. Ianneau, within certayne days after was secretly slayne, and neuer knowne how. There was placed in the towne a verie great garrison. And ouer and aboue the foresayde summe of fortie thousande Frankes, they were very straightly charged to pay newe tributes. And concerning the vse of Religion, the which notwithstanding was promised in the first article of the agreement, there was neyther speach nor performance to this day.

The king sent the armies of the Switzers into Daulphine, to terrifie the inhabitants of Languedoc, and monf. Monbrune that they might receiue the covenant of the peace of Rochel. Notwithstanding, when they had remayned certayne weekes in Daulphine, when also Monbrune had trauelled diligently to and fro to withstande them, and could not rayse them of Languedoc, in so much that a great masse of money shoulde haue bene spent to no purpose, those returned againe into their countrey, which were returned from the siege of Rochel, & had escaped the perils of their journey.



P. ffj.

THE



# The twelfth Booke of Commentaries, concerning the Tem- porall and Ecclesiasticall state of the King- dome of France, in the raigne of Charles the ninth.



THE Rochelleans had made a peace with the King, without the knowledge of them of Nismes, and others of Languedoc, although they also were expressly contained in the covenants of agreement. Notwithstanding the Edict being read did not satisfie them, but affirmed, that the experiments of the former tymes replenished with diuers murders, did proue, that these pacificatorie meanes were snares, to intercept and intangle those with the pretence of peace, whome they could not by force of Armes, & with warre overcome. Therfore they thought good to consult and participate this matter with their fellowes, and perceue it needfull to prouide for the same by a common assembly of the Churches whiche were left. So that after tydings was brought vnto them of the Edict made, they sente into the Armie a messenger to the Duke of Anjou, to giue him thanks on their behalfe, beseeching him, that for so muche as the cause in hand was generall, and bycause it belonged to many of the reformed Religion to know these things in conuenient time, that he would giue them leaue to assemble them selues together in a fit place, and that to the same ende he would graunt them his letters patents for their assurance.

These letters patents were graunted and made, and all they of the Religion, to whome knowledge might be gyuen, were warned to be at Milliaud in Languedoc. Whereupon there came many from all partes of the Realme, according as the tyme would suffer them.

THIS was a notable occasion to prouide for thinges againe time to come. For in this assembly they considered and  
scanned

scanned how they might order their affayres afterwarde : and so provided for the selues both lawes ciuill and also martiall.

In the large prouince of Languedoc there are many prouinces, the which were replenished with a great number of the Religious, whiche helde diuers cities and Townes in sundry parts of the same, hauing also amongst them the Catholiques, in somuch that the keeping of those places was very perillous, by reason that their enemies were so mixed with them.

Therefore to the ende their affayres might euer afterwarde be ordered after a more firme & constant maner, they appointed two generalities of Liefenantships for the territorie of y<sup>e</sup> Religion, in the whiche all the Religious of that prouince were contayned, namely y<sup>e</sup> Liefenantship of Montauban, and the Liefenantship of Nismes. Montauban, to haue y<sup>e</sup> preheminence ouer those parts of y<sup>e</sup> higher Languedoc, and Nismes of the lower: in y<sup>e</sup> which the territorie of Seuenatz and Viaretz were comprehended. They apoynted to euery Liefenantship a Liefenant which was some famous noble man. And they appointed y<sup>e</sup> office of these Liefenantships to endure, so long as y<sup>e</sup> ciuill war should hold either openly or secretly, that they might haue the chiefe authoritie in martiall affayres: notwithstanding so, y<sup>e</sup> their power might be subiect to the iudgemente of y<sup>e</sup> Senate. Euery countrey or diocesse had his senate, according to the ancient maner of France, and they continue in vse, especially in that part, eue vnto this day: these Senats they call particular states. But the Liefenantship, in the which many diocesses are contayned, is called the chiefe or high Senate, whiche consisteth of certayne choice men out of euery countrey or shyre: notwithstanding so, that the sentences of euery Senate in matters of great waight were examined and straightly overlooked. It was also ordeyned that by the decree of that high Senate or court the Liefenant should rule and gouerne those affayres which belonged vnto the warre. These Liefenants had a certayne stipend assigned vnto them, the whole rule and charge of the treasure belonged to the Senate, the Liefenant by his office hauing nothing to do with the same.

AND,



AND to mayntaine warre, they tooke these wayes: namely, that the people might be restrayned, so muche as might be from martiall robbing, and that countreys might not be wasted and spoyled: they charge the townes and villages by a writ out of the kings Exchequer to pay tribute, yea and those townes also in the whiche the Catholikes inhabited, leuying suche a summe as might be sufficient to mayntaine garrisons in them. They call for a Contribution. Thus they were gently intreated, which payed the commaunded tribute: husbandry also was permitted and mayntained. So that those places inhabited by the Catholikes, did obey, for feare of robbing, spoiling, and burning. Thus they went about to cut off all occasion of martiall libertie, so much as might be taken away among so many outrageous furies of warre: and they provided for the continuance of longer warre, if so be no reasonable and indifferent condition were offered by the king. Furthermore, they gathered the tythes and reuenues of the priestes, and appoynted collectors for the same.

Hitherto all occasion to holde warre, seemed after so great slaughters of men made, to be taken away from the Religious: but this way which they nowe devised, brought to passe, that they of the Religion were able to mayntaine garrisons in diuers places: the which when neede required, being come together in one, by the commaundement of the Lieutenant, would haue made a sufficient armie: by this meanes also the catholikes power was weakned: Vicount Pauline was made Lieutenant of Montauban: and monf. Sanroman, (of whome we spake before) being come from Switzerland to Nismes, was made Lieutenant of the same, after he had taken his othe. The comming of Sanroman brought to passe, that the discordes of the captaynes disagreeing among them selues hitherto, being appeased, their assayes had more happy successe in Nismes, and in the cities adioyning thereunto: all men obeying with all their heartes the commaundement giuen by him, and also by the Senate.

Therefore nowe at the last necessitie and experience, the  
 schole=

schoolmistresse of scholes taught y religious for their necessary defence, a new kind of order, not vsed in the time of the former warres, and more conuenient: And these things were handled very well in the assembly or conuocation at *Mil-land*.

These things being thus prouided to establissh a certaine order, the men of *Languedoc* also determined in this conuocation, to require certaine things of the king for the confirmation of peace: for the former *Edict* did not satisfie them, as we saide before, neither did the name of peace so moue them by and by, that without consideration and respect all conditions were receiued, bycause the light credit of the Princes afore time, taught them to beware.

Therefore they sente vnto the king, *Mons. Tolet, Philip, Cherenac*, and others whiche were actiue and prudent men. The summe of their message was, To giue thanks vnto the king for singular good will, which he declared that he had to establishe peace in his kingdome. That the same remedy was so necessarie, the kingdome by so long warres being in decay and almost ouerthrowen, that it could not be any longer deferred without present destruction. That they were minded to shew all obedience to their Lord & king. But bycause the tragicall and lamentable memorie of the murders lately committed on *S. Bartholmewes* daye, doth shewe how dangerous a thing it is for the king theyr soueraigne to be ruled by the euill counsayles of wicked counsaylers: they most humbly beseeched his maiestie not to thinke it strange that they, to whom it specially belonged, sought the most conuenient wayes for the establisshing of peace. That it was lately broughte to passe, that the king by the practises of euill counsaylers, contrary to hys good nature, declared him selfe by his publique letters, to be the authoz and chiefe cause of that wicked fact, the whiche notwithstanding a fewe dayes before he openly detested: the contrary shew whereof was too shamefull in the  

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light



sight of al nations. That they were perswaded of his own good will towards them: but they greatly feared, least his mind shoulde be led by his counsaylers as aforesaid: and that therfore they would prouide for them selues, and seeke to saue their liues and the liues of their friendes, beeyng taught by the pitifull example of their fellowes.

1. *T H E S E* things being vttered, first of al they require, that for the securitie of peace, and to auoyd newe troubles, they might keepe those Cities, whiche they had already in possession, with their owne garrisons of men, and the same to haue their wages payed them out of the kings treasure.
2. Secondly, that beside those Cities, the king woulde giue vnto the two Cities in euery prouince of *h* Realme, which might be thought most meete and conuenient in the iudgemente and opinion of foure men, two of the whiche foure to be Catholiques, and the other two Religious: and the same two Cities also to haue garrisons of the Religious maintayned in them by the kings pay.
3. Thirdly, that the vse of the reformed Religion bee free through out the whole Realme without exception of any place, for al those which shal require the same of the king.
4. Fourthly, that they of the Religion may haue graunted vnto them new parliaments in euery prouince, and that by suche iudges as embrace the reformed Religion.
5. Fifthly, that to maintayne the ministers of their Churches, they may haue leaue to gather those tithes which arise of their lands.
6. Last of all, that they whiche were the authoys of the murder committed on Saint Bartholmewes day, mighte be punished as murderers, spoylers, and disturbers of the common peace.

These seemed to bee large petitions: and in very deede their speech to the king extēded farther, in so much that the Queene saide in displeasure and anger, That the prince of *Conde* him selfe if he were aliue, and were euen in the very middest of the kingdome with twenty thousand horsemen, and fye hundred thousand footemen, & had also in his hands the

the chiefe Cities of y<sup>e</sup> Realme, would not craue y<sup>e</sup> one halfe of those things. Wherefore the came to euery one of these messengers, & sought to win the, sometime by faire promises, & other while by threatnings. But it was so provided in the assembly at *Milliand*, y<sup>e</sup> the messengers of themselves should do nothing, but only offer the letter vnto the king, & should refer the kings answeres vnto the Senate, y<sup>e</sup> the whole matter mighte bee allowed by the authoritie of the same. Dayes of respit wer take for a moneth & a halfe: & so the messengers being honorably receyued into euery Citie, returned home againe. The Catholiques coulde scarcely be perswaded, but that the most mightie princes fauoured the cause of the Religious, and pretended that the great libertie which the Religious had, was the cause why they so thought. The king was said to desire peace, being warned by the successe of the warre at *Rochell*, and in *Languedoc*.

In the meane time, preparation was made for the voyage into *Polonia*, the Queene and the new King providing al things for great magnificence, notwithstanding they had not money according to their wil. About y<sup>e</sup> same time in y<sup>e</sup> which the Ambassadors of *Polonia* wer at *Paris*, a very bold & wicked fact was committed. Ther was a certayn Citizen in *Paris* of greate wealth named *Nantoilet*, a Catholique & one of the chiefe magistrates of the Citie. To this mans house came y<sup>e</sup> new king, of whom he was very courteously entertayned. But y<sup>e</sup> Duke of *Anjou* being in y<sup>e</sup> house begā to quarrel w<sup>th</sup> the said *Nantoilet*, first with words, at y<sup>e</sup> which the other had great marueile: Then his seruāts begā to spoile, caried away his plate & iewels, brake opē his cofers, and caried away a greate masse of money. Thus the outrage of murders brake the raines of shame, running into all impudent boldnesse.

AFTER that *Harlem* was taken the Prince of *Orange* tooke *Alcmar* a Citie of *Holland*, the Citizens being deuiled within the selues: at what time one gate was take by that part which held of y<sup>e</sup> Duke of *Alba*, and bād both of

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Preparation  
for the viage  
into Polonia.

Nantoilet  
robbed by the  
new king of  
Polonia.

The affayres  
of the lowe  
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The Rame-  
keins Castell  
taken by the  
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horsemen and footemen sent from the said Duke wer now within the beu of y<sup>e</sup> Citie. Notwithstanding the Prince of Orange putting to flight the sayd power enioyed the Citie. The *Flisshingers* tooke the Castell *Ramekins* the fifth of August. Also the sayd *Flisshingers*, the thirteenth day of y<sup>e</sup> same moneth, encountered with the nauie of the Duke of *Alba*, which loused from *Antwerpe*, to carrie victuall to *Middelburge*, part whereof they chased away, and the rest came to *Middelburge*. Furthermore the Prince of Orange tooke the towne of *Mounts* in *Brabant*.

The twentieth of September the *Orangians* fought wyth happy successe vpon the coast of *Amsterdam*: in the whiche fyght the Duke of *Alba* had a great ouerthrow, with losse of a great number of his Shippes, and also of his men.

The eleuenth day of October, the *Orangians* after a long battayle fought vpon the sea, got the victorie of the King of *Spaynes* nauie, of whome they slue a great number, and tooke the County *Bosiu*, Lord Admirall of the whole nauie.

In the beginning of December the Duke of *Alba* forsaking his authoritie of gouernment in the low countrey being *Brussels*, by the authoritie and comission of the kings letters, put ouer his said office to *Lewis de Requiſence* great Commaunder of *Castile*, and then prepared for his returne into *Spayne*.

THE new King of *Polonia*, notwithstanding that the Ambassadors of *Polonia* made great hast, found dayly new delayes to deferre his iourney, whether it wer for the pleasure and delight which he had in his owne countrey, or for greefe to leaue a more noble kingdome, the assured possession whereof his mother had promised vnto him. The king him selfe byged his departure: in somuch that it is reported he sayde in anger, That eyther he, or himselfe must needs goe into *Polonia*. For the secret grudges of emulation which was in eyther of them, could not be so couertly restrayned, but that often times they brast forth. The

Queene

Queene loued the Duke of *Anjou* more than the king, whose great towardnesse she greatly feared. It is certainly reported, that the Queene sayde to *Henry*, being very carefull concerning his departure, *Be of good cheere, only goe, thou shalt not remayne long in Polonia.* By the rumor heereof, many thought that the Queene meant little good vnto the King, and that hereof that euill which happened within a while after vnto him proceeded: the whiche verily I would not set downe, if so be the same had not bin obiected vnto the Queene hir selfe by letters written by certayne Courtiers, whiche knew well ynough the affayres of the Court. Yea it is most certayne, that the Queene was so addicted vnto hir sonne *Henry*, that she hated hir other two sonnes.

*HENRY* hauing couenaunted and agreed with hys brother concerning those thinges whiche appertayned to their affayres, departed at the length from *Paris*, the eyght and twenty of September. The king sayd, that he would bring him on his way to the boundes and limits of hys kingdome.

The which he could not performe, for that he fel sicke of a soare feuer at *Vitri* a towne in *Champaigne*: most menne thinking that he was poysoned. Therefore the king toke his leaue of his brother and went no further: who wente through *Germany*, as his iourney lay, and was curteously entertayned of the Princes of the same: notwithstanding he hearde them in every place greuously detest the murders of *Fraunce*, the principall cause whereof was layd to his charge in obeying the wicked counsayles of hys mother.

About the same tyme *Frauncis Hotomannus*, a famous Lawyer, a man endued with godlinesse and singular learning, published a booke, which he intituled *Francogallia*, and dedicated the same to *Frederic Countie Palatine*. In the same booke, the sayde *Hotomannus* declareth with exquisite



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Because the  
countrey of  
France was  
called in olde  
time Gallia or  
Gaule: and  
was after-  
ward by the  
Francones of  
Germany co-  
quered. he ca-  
leth it here by  
the name of a  
compounde  
word Franco-  
gallia, and the  
people Franco  
Galli, that is  
to say, French  
Gaules.

reason, what was the state of *h* kingdome of *France* in olde  
time, bringing the same to memoire againe out of the an-  
cient antiquities of the historie of *France*. And he declareth,  
“ that although the *French Gaules*, tooke in olde time theyr  
“ kings from the Nobilitie, and therefore chose them suche  
“ kings as were come of kingly race, & had bin royally tray-  
“ ned and brought vp, whether the same were of the number  
“ of their childre, or of their neere kinsmen: yet neuerthelesse  
“ *h* kingdome of *France* of olde time was wont to be gyuen  
“ not by right of inheritance as a priuate patrimonie, but by  
“ *h* iudgemēt & free electiōs of *h* people. For prooue wherof he  
“ bringeth many things out of the expresse words of *h* Te-  
“ stamēt of *Charles* the great, & out of the elections of *Phara-*  
“ mund, of *h* sonnes of *Pipin*, of *Charles*, and of *Charlomain*, of  
“ *Chilperic*, of *Clothar*, of *Otho*, and of other kings, of whome  
“ he hath made a lōg catalogue: alleaging *h* very wordes of  
“ *h* histories, notwithstanding so, *h* the kingdome shuld be de-  
“ uided by *h* decree & consent of *h* states, one while to one, &  
“ sometime to moe of *h* sonnes of the kings. And that as the  
“ authoritie to chosse kings, so also the power to displace and  
“ depose them from their rule, was in old time in the handes  
“ of the states of the people & in the publique assembly of the  
“ Realm. Therefore *h* kings wer created in *France* by fyne  
“ lawes, & not tyrats ordeyned, with free authoritie & power  
“ to do what soeuer them listeth. For the which matter he  
“ bringeth many examples, namely of the two *Childerickes*,  
“ which kings were deposed fro *h* kingdome by the decree of  
“ *h* states: of *Theoderic* which was displaced with *Ebroin* his  
“ Lord great master: of *Chilperic*, of *Charles* the grosse, also  
“ of *Otho* which was chosen king in stede of *Charles h* sonne  
“ of *Lewis* the stutter: and he taketh the credite of their iudge-  
“ ments, and most bzgent causes, out of the very midst of *h*  
“ historie. He sheweth also what things were specially hand-  
“ led in the solemne assembly of *h* states: and also what was  
“ the authoritie of the same. And first of al concerning *h* cre-  
“ ating or displacing of a king: secondly, concerning peace &  
warre,

warre, and common lawes: thirdly, concerning greafe ho-  
 noys, high offices, and governments of the common welth: ”  
 Fourthly, concerning the assigning of the patrimonie in ”  
 part to the childzen of the king being deceased, and concer- ”  
 ning the appointing of dowry to daughters: finally, con- ”  
 cerning al those things which appertayne to the weale pu- ”  
 blique. The power of y<sup>e</sup> sayd assembly of States was such ”  
 (saith he) that without the authoritie or sentence of the ”  
 same, the king coulde determine nothing, but must folowe ”  
 the authoritie and will of the States: which said authori- ”  
 tie and will, were called *The decrees of the states.* ”

And now when as this kingdom of France hath cōtinu- ”  
 ed almost a thousand & two hūdred yeres, ther are said to ”  
 be in al this time only three houses of kings, that is to say, ”  
 of the *Merouins*, who taking their originall of *Meroue*, con- ”  
 tinued y<sup>e</sup> stock two hūdred fourscore & three yeres: of *Char-* ”  
*louins*, who springing frō *Charles* y<sup>e</sup> great grew in y<sup>e</sup> stocke ”  
 three hūdred thirty & seue yeres: & of *Capenites*, who begin- ”  
 ning at *Hugh Capet*, haue now held y<sup>e</sup> kingdome siue hun- ”  
 dred & fourescore yeres. The which *Hugh Capet* got y<sup>e</sup> roy- ”  
 al dignitie, y<sup>e</sup> *Charlouins* being deposed, namely *Leswis* y<sup>e</sup> fifth ”  
 the. xxxj. king of France, & the. xij. king of the stocke of the ”  
*Charlouins*, his childzen being dead in warde. And then hee ”  
 proueth by many examples, y<sup>e</sup> the royal dignitie stood fyrm ”  
 by the decree of the States in the times of the first raigne ”  
 both of the *Merouins*; & also of the *Charlouins*, & was conti- ”  
 nued also in the house of the *Capenites*. And first by that no- ”  
 table cōtrouerſie celebrated and made famous with y<sup>e</sup> mo- ”  
 numēt of the French histories, and with the great warres ”  
 which rose of the same, betweene *Philip Valoys*, and *Edward* ”  
 bozne of *Isabel* the sister of *Charles*. Who, when king ”  
*Charles* the sayre, dyed without heires male, contended for ”  
 the kingdome. When the matter grew thus to contenti- ”  
 on, it pleased the States to preferre *Philip Valoys* being of ”  
 royall line, to whom the kingdom was adiudged. Another ”  
 example he broughte from the lamentab & tyme of King, ”  
 John,



" *John*, who loyning battayle with the English men neare  
 " vnto *Poitiers*, was taken & carried prisoner into *England*.  
 " So great calamitie being receyued, the hope was left in  
 " the authoritie of the states alone. Therefore by the decree  
 " of the saide States, there were approued men of all sortes  
 " and conditions chosen, to whome the charge and affayres  
 " of the Realme were committed: howbeit there were three  
 " of the Kings sonnes, namely *Charles*, *Lewis*, and *John*: of the  
 " whiche thre the eldest was of lawfull age to gouerne. A  
 " third example he bringeth from the yeare of our Lord M.  
 " CCCXXII. at what time *Charles* the fyfth surnamed  
 " wise, appoynted by his will and testament *Philip* Duke of  
 " *Borbon* his wiues brother, to bee the tutor and gardian of  
 " his sonnes: and *Lewis* Duke of *Anion* his brother to be the  
 " gouernour of the Realme, vntill such time as *Charles* hys  
 " sonne came vnto his full and lawfull age: neuerthelesse it  
 " was decreed by a counsaile, holden at *Paris*, that the will  
 " should be frustrate, and the gouernmente of the kingdome  
 " committed to the sayd *Lewis* the childes vnkle, vpon condi-  
 " tion that in his gouernment he woulde do nothing with-  
 " out the aduice and consente of other honest and approued  
 " persons in the sayde counsaile: and also that the wardship  
 " and education of the childe shoulde bee committed to the  
 " Duke of *Borbon*. A fourth example he bringeth from y<sup>e</sup> yere  
 " of our Lorde. M. CCCXCIII. at what time *Charles* the  
 " sixth sonne of the said King todaynely fell madde, it was  
 " decreed by the authoritie of the states, that the gouerne-  
 " ment of the Realme should be committed to the Dukes of  
 " *Berry*, and *Burgundy*. Also he fetcheth a fifth example from  
 " the yeare. M. CCCXXIII. when as *Philip* Duke of  
 " *Burgundy*, and *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester*, were at mo-  
 " rall debate to the great detriment of the common wealth:  
 " and at the length agreed betweene them selues, to make an  
 " end of all controuerfies by combate. In this contention  
 " the States were vniuers, and decreed, that both of them  
 " should

should put off their armour, and rather end their contentions by lawe, than by dint of sword. Then he allegeth a first example from the yere M.CCCC.Lxxviii. when as Lewis the .xj. being dead, and leaving behinde him his sonne Charles of the age of thirteene yeres, it was decreed by an assembly of States at Towers, that the education of the child should bee committed to Anne the kings sister: and that the government of the Realme should bee set over to certayne choyse and approued persons in the sayd assembly: notwithstanding that Lewis Duke of Orleans being the next of kinne, required the same. He setteth downe also a seuenth Argument taken from that warre, which was helde in the tyme of the sayd Lewis the eleuenth, which was of all other kings the most craftie and subtil, which also greatly diminished the authoritie of the States, at what tyme the kingdom was so governed by him, that in many things the dueitie of a good prince, and of one tending his countrey, was wanting, the authoritie of the States began to be requested, that by the same the common wealth might be provided for: and so by the ayde of many Princes and noble men warre was holden, which was therefore called, the warre of the common wealth. And verily, at that tyme the authoritie of the States began to decay: the which notwithstanding Lewis labored to haue in great estimation. Finally, he handleth that question, Whether the government of the kingdom of France, by the lawe of France, ought to come to the Distaſſe: and by many reasons and examples he sheweth, that women ought to bee remoued from the government of the Realme no less than from the libertie of the same.

And thus disputing, he offereth to the secret iudgements of men by the state of the auncient kingdom, an expresse Image of those calamities, by which all things at the last in the kingdom of France, are come to great disorder and confusion, the authoritie of the states of the Realme being overthrowen and suppressed, and a straunge woman hauing gotten into her handes the royall government.



M. Mombrune took about this time Menerb, a walled town in the County of Venaiz: & Nium, a towne bordering vppon the Countie of Daulphine, and new small townes & bandes of men, specially out of Prouance came dayly vnto him. And he invaded the territorie of Grenoble, to the great terror and feare of those that dwelt in the same. Hee took also the riche Abbay of Viri, and slew the Garrisons which kepte the same. The Monkes of the great Charterhouse fearing to haue so ill a neighbour, fortified themselves with Garrisons of Souldiers. Thus M. Mombrune was feared in all that countrey rounde about.

Againe truce was taken for a moneth and a halfe. Neuerthelesse the burning desire of warres was great in Languedoc and in Daulphine. And vnder the pretence of that truce, the King & Queene, made a great shewe that they desired peace: but in deed they practised nothing els but bloody warre.

Puygallard of Poictou to get Rochell, byzed with the kings money and by the kings commaundement certayne Souldiers of Rochell to betray the Citie. And the chief of this conspiracie in the towne was monf. Grandfiese a famous man, who valiantly behaued himselfe in the tyme of warre for the defence of Rochell. Thus it was agreed amongst them, that a Bulwarke and one of the Gates should bee taken, to the which Puygallard should come incontinent with certayne bandes of Souldiers. The conspiracie was discovered. They of Rochell took many of the townsmen. M. Grandfiese was slayne. And when enquirie was made of this conspiracie, the conspirators answered, that they had done nothing without the kings commaundement, monf. Puygallard being the author: the which also certain letters found about Grandfiese did plainly testify. They of Rochell made complaint hereof to the king. The king denied the said enterprise to be taken in hand by his commaundement: willing them to punish those that were founde gilty of the conspiracie, saying that he gave them leave and authoritie so to doe: only he willed them to beware that they did nothing contrary to the Edicte.

There.

Therefore they of Rochell, according to their manner of execution put many of the Conspirators to death by the wheel of the which many were Citizens. This was done about the the ende of the month of December.

ORANGE was helde by Berchon in the name of the Prince of Orange: and Berchon with the inhabitants of Avinion which bordered about him, and of Venais also, abstained of purpose from warre. Notwithstanding many of the Citizens of Orange, having M. Glandag a valiant man of Dauphine their Captayn, took the Castell and towne of Orange, Berchon mistrusting no such thing, who went straight way to Cortes, a little towne in the territorie of Orange. After this M. Glandag warred very sore against Avinion, & against the inhabitants of y<sup>e</sup> countie, robbing & spoiling them, yea and the merchantmen as they went about their affaires were robbed in the common high way. The sayd Glandag him self for all this boasted, that he did not like of the reformed Religion: and that only the point of his sworde was religious: meaning thereby that he did not embrace the doctrine of the religion, but the cause of y<sup>e</sup> religious. By such like examples great offence was taken against them of the Religion.

Anno. M.D. LXXIII.

THIS newe yere comprehendeth the beginnings of newe and weightie matters, whereby divers success both of king Charles the ninth, by whole strong and flourishing youth infinite victories to the utter destruction of the religion were proclaimed, and also by the death of Charles Guise Cardinall of Lorhayne, a notable ancient enemy of the reformed Churches, which we will set downe according to our manner and purpose.

MANY of the noble men envied the government of the Queen, for whatsoever was done by king Charles was attributed unto him for y<sup>e</sup> we (as it is said) being through effeminate and rather baselines moved to displeasure, one while against some, another while against other some, sought

R.ij.

by



by all meanes possible to hurt those, which might in any case  
withstand his gouernement and for that she being a woman,  
and which was more a straunge woman, should haue the  
gouernment of the state so many yeares already, against the  
ordynance of the auncient lawes of France, and to the great  
reproche of the realme of France. Therefore she had prouoked  
many of the noble men to hate hir: especially bicause the au-  
thoritie of the nobles, to whom the prerogatiues of the realme  
pertayned, being by hir taken away, and translated to hir selfe  
alone, she aduanced base borne men and straungers to great  
honour and to large riches and possessions, & especially Coun-  
tie d'Retz, who being the sonne of a Florentine Promoter  
called Gordes, and his mother a famous harlot, him selfe also  
at the first being but a seruant to a forrainger, came to so great  
riches and authoritie, that he was not only checkmate with  
princes and noble men, but also far excelled them. Now, be-  
cause these large promotions & gifts could not but be drawen  
out of the kings treasure, that is to say, from the blood of the  
miserable people, lately oppressed with intollerable burthens  
of tributes, many of the noble men daily complained, that the  
common wealth was betrayed and troden under foot. And  
the foule troubles of new warres, did greatly amplifie and en-  
crease complayntes: through the which warres y Citizens be-  
ing armed to mortal hatred one against another, by y instiga-  
tion & incouraging of a strange woman, to shamefull mad-  
nes killed & destroyed one y other, to satisfy the wicked appe-  
tites & desires of an ungodly Italian. Hetherto she had preten-  
ded y cause of Religion: notwithstanding she sought this one  
thing only by these civil discords, namely, That when she had  
destroyed y French me, she might bring in Italians into y king-  
dome of France, and so she might easely raigne alone, hauing  
gotten such men about hir as stood subiect & bound vnto hir.

Also the great misliking of the murder on Saint Barthel-  
mewes day, made hir to be the more enuyed and despised, ad-  
ding all that might bee to that notable hatred, conceived a-  
gainst hir: bicause by the same fall, not only many noble hou-  
ses,

ses, were depriued of their brethren and kinsmen, the more noble sorte of them of the religion being slayne: but also that the death of the noble princes and peeres was sought, notwithstanding that they alwayes had embraced the Romish Religion: and that a manifest way was made to the utter destruction of the nobles of France by this enterance, and that, because this ambitious woman would leaue nothing undone to shew crueltie, that she might rule and gouerne after hir owne will.

Amidst the garboyle of the murders, they which suspected their blood to be sought, were at rest, and were gone at the kings commaundement to the warre, to destroy those which remainied of the Religion, who being but fewe and weake, seemed to be brought easily to destruction within few dayes. But when the Quenees counsailes and deuises took effect, and newe murders were made, when there was preparation of warre against Rochell & Languedoc: then men more freely began to speake against those murders, and to detest those ciuill warres stirred vp by the commaundements of the Queene, when as the contrary successe had frustrated and deceived even as it were in the very entry, the imagined victories concerning the utter destruction of those of the Religion. And there was none which did not greatly cōdemne the causers & workers of those murders. Peace was earnestly desired and hoped for of all men, when as the space of two yeeres, had almost drowned the memory of the former troubles and iniuries, and after so many spoiles made by warres, new calamitie was feared, insomuch that all men feared the cause of new troubles. And the remembrance of the pretended marriage celebrated with falsehood, was most detestable, to the everlasting reproch of France.

Therefore in stead of triumphes for the destruction of the remainder of the religion, there sprang vp new enemies from among the Catholiques themselves: and that of them also which were present in those murders, and were instrumentes of the same: who being taught by tyme it selfe, and by the event and successe of the matter, did not only detest that wicked



saife, but also prepared themselves to revenge the same.

And there was no small number of these new recruits: but the factions were copious and plentiful: having over them noble and famous Captaines. So many as could not abyde to sayle their countrey in extremity, being now at the last cast, and which being free from y<sup>e</sup> Dukes liberalitie & preferment & which mistaked of the insolent promotion of strangers: so many, I say seemed to be called, evn as it were to y<sup>e</sup> sound of a trumpet, to y<sup>e</sup> societie of this new counsaile. The greatest injury seemed to be giue to y<sup>e</sup> king of Navar, for y<sup>e</sup> his marriage was dishonored & polluted, w<sup>th</sup> the funerals of his friends & familie: and he himself had come in perill of life, except by a foule and shamefull shift he had forsaken y<sup>e</sup> religion, in y<sup>e</sup> which he was brought bp & instructed, & for y<sup>e</sup> which, by y<sup>e</sup> ayde & furtherance of his mother he had held war. The Prince of Conde was w<sup>th</sup> no lesse provocations allured: & beside y<sup>e</sup> olde causes, y<sup>e</sup> late perill of his life in the furious murders, & the remembrance of the war of Rochell to destroy those who had valiantly behaved themselves vnder his conduct, to defend his house & stock. Also vehement causes stirred by y<sup>e</sup> house of Momorencie. For by the death of y<sup>e</sup> Admirall which was so cruelly slaine, the blood of Momorencies brethren no doubt was sought: & they were not ignorant y<sup>e</sup> their names were bilde in y<sup>e</sup> number of those which were slayne on Saint Barthelmewes day: & that if they might have bene shut vp altogether, they had dyed with the Admirall and his fellows. For the Dukes envied the authoritie of the house of Momorencie. And it evidently appeared y<sup>e</sup> Marshall Colfe, and all other which by consanguinitie, affinitie, or by any other meanes belonged vnto these houses, were appointed for the same slaughter. Yea, there was occasion of these new matters taken in y<sup>e</sup> kings own lyne. The Duke of Alanco the kings yongest brother being hated of his mother, greatly mistaked his mothers government, and detested that wicked and horrible facte of the bloody marriage. So that the Duke of Alanco seemed to be of their side. Therefore for this cause hee was hated of his mother. These were the beginnings of  
great

great matters, the which what successe they had we will shew hereafter.

The countreys being tormented with long calamities of warres, required of the king that there might be an assembly of the States, that extreme necessitie at the last might provide a remedy for so great troubles. The Quene answered that the king & she did like very well of this request: (for the king being dayly more and more sicke, the Quene of hir selfe had the government of all things) and shee appoynted the assembly of States at Compien.

The Prince of Orange helde the greatest parte of Zealand, as we sayd before, except Middelburge, the chiefe Citie of that countrey and Armac, the most famous haven of that Citie, and of the whole Isle. The same he beleaged with all the forces of the inhabitants of the Iſelande, and with other succors appertayning to the same.

The kings Navy to succour them of Middelburge loosed from Andwarpe the 22. of January. In this preparation, the kings Souldiers sustayned great dammage and hurt. For todaynly a great Iron peece brake in the Ship, by the violent breach wherof thirtie men were slain, & certain also which stood vppon the shore. The Ship it self was by and by dashed in peeeces vppon the flat: another ship after this was overtake to waues. And when they came within the sight of the towne of Mountres, the Souldiers of the Navie to salute the kings Garrison, gaue them a peale of shotte. By occasion whereof fyre being unwittingly cast into the gunpowder which was in one of the shippes, most horribly brent all the Souldiers that were in the same. For all this they went forward to their iorney toward Middelburge. The Navie of the prince of Orange encountered to the, the Duke Reguſence & kings Lieftenant in the low countrey looking vppon the fro the shoare of the towne of Barrow. Then began a fierce battaile betwene them, both partes manfully quitting theſelves. Notwithstanding, 6. of the kings Shippes being at the first overcome, the Admirall hir selfe also was constrained to flee, and to forsake hir fellows. The



The chiefe Captayne whose name was Iulian Roman, a man of great fame among the Spaniards, sliding out of the ship by a roape into a skiffe, forsooke the Name. The Prince of Orange his Raule being conquerers, pursued the chase, & took nineteene Shippes of warre. The Admirall himself was slain. All the Spaniards, and specially the olde Soldiers of seruice, which were taken, were cast ouer boord to feede fishes. Then the Prince of Orange more vehemently urged the siege of Middelburge, and so within fewe dayes it was brought to passe, that Moundragon, being without all hope of helpe, yielded by the Citie of Middelburge and Armac. This was the nineteene of Februarie of this yeare. The crueltie shewed at the siege of Harlem was not here recompenced. The Prince of Orange rather conquered with lenitie and gentlenes, than otherwise, he graunted lyfe also to the morrow masse Priests: but the Captaines & Centurions he sent prisoners to Flushing, hauing giuen leane to Moundragon their chiefe Captaine to redeeme them, for the which cause he, leauing behynde him assurance of faith, and twelue hostages, went to Andwerpe, that he might make exchange of Captiues. This Moundragon so highly commended the humanitie, clemencie, & sapth of the Prince of Orange vnto the kings Lesertenant Reguence, that he brought himselfe in suspicion with him, and also into great perill.

ABOVT this tyme Mongon an experte Captaine, in the last ciuill warres of great name & fame for killing of Mor-tecondrin, took certayne small towne in the countrey of Velay, and certayne strong Castelles: and he was now approached to the Citie of Puy, which was full of rich Marchants: hauing already taken the Castell Espaule, which was within the sight of the Citie, by the subtrill practise of Guiard of Puy, a man of no religion and yet pretending to be of the religion. Now the spoiling Souldier being made rich with the praye, bought of the Souldiers of the Castell of Espaule, one of the Captaynes being corrupted with money by the men of Puy, both the head of mon. Guiard, and the Castell it selfe. Also

M. Mon-

M. Mongon himselfe on the other parte, was by treason slaine. And thus within fewe dayes, they of the Religion were driven out of the countrey of Velay, by the treacherie and wickednesse of the spoyleing irreligious Souldiers.

There standeth vpon the bankes of the Rauer of Roine a Castell called Perand. This Castell did the Lord of the same (who from the tyme of the slaughter at Paris sayned the abjur-  
ration of Religion) take, & a little towne also called Andace, fortifying the sayd Castell with a Garrison of Souldiers of the Religion. About the same tyme also by his meanes was taken the Castell Malouin in the countrey of Forrest. By reason whereof the entrechurse of them of Lions was much en-  
damaged. Therefore they being stirred up by this their annoyance, beseged the Castell Perand; and within certayne dayes assailed & tooke the same. M. Saproman making small ball to succour it, and then overthrow all the forces thereof, that it might neuer annoy them afterward.

CONCERNING the assembly of states appoynted to be holden by the Queene, we haue spoken before. The ancient manner of France is, that before the generall assembly of States, the perticular assemblies of the states of euery province assemble together, that by deliberation they might determine, what should be handled in the generall assembly. This manner the Queene spinneth of purpose, and gentry charge to certayne requisite persons, to go into euery province, and to heare the complaints of the people, and to bring the same in to the King and to her. The same authoritie she gaue also to them of the Religion, for whose assistance special provision seemed to be made. Notwithstanding yet so whom this charge was committed, was taken at Lions, by the Lieutenant Mandelot, and was kept in ward certayne monethes.

THE Queene was much troubled in mynde, and very carefull for the supplying of this dangerous straites. For she did perceiue that they of the religion were not only sprung up in great number, but also that they were more wise, and by the late successe also of matters, more constant and coura-

geous:

geous:



gious: and that therefore shee should haue a soze confidē with them. To these were added new enemies, who hauing no regard to religion, but only a care of ciuil affayres, would haue the gouernment reformed and in better state. And she was not ignozant how that the most famous of the nobles, were both authozs and also instruments of that counsaile. Shee knew that hir sonne the Duke of Alancon was an enemy vnto hir gouernment: furthermore, that the King of Nauarre and the Prince of Conde were very angry with the perill and daimmage which they had receyued in their owne persons: therefore the ambitious woman suspected that they also were of this counsaile, to remoue hir from the gouernment of the Realme. The Kings health being past all hope of recouerie, and the neere approachyng of his death, was giuen out by his scythslayers (whose helpe and counsaile the Queene greatly vled) which caused hir to feare least accordyng to the custome of the lawes and ordynances of the Realme the gouernment of the same should bee set ouer vnto the Duke of Alancon: whereby the counsaillers and deuises of hir enemies, had an open way made for them to take effect.

To take away these inconueniences, the woman by long experience of matters and by gouernement in great affayres being more circumspect and subtil than the wisest, purposed to prouide all meanes and wayes. She ioyned pollicie and force together, that she might not faile to bring hir purpose to passe. She pretended the kings name in all causes in euery place, whom notwithstanding shee made very seldome priuy to hir counsailes, bicause he was sicke, as she pretended. She very carefully prouided, that the kings armies should bee in a readines at hir commaundement, vnder the colour of warre against Languedoc, the which was certainly sayde to be prepared, excepte they of the Religion in Languedoc would receyue these conditions commaunded in the Edicte of Rochell: And the Countie D'Retes hauing receiued a great summe of money, gathered souldiers together in Germany. Also y<sup>e</sup> end of  
hir.

his policies was, that the authors of the new surres should be destroyed by a new murder. About the rest d'Anvil withstood these mischeuous deuises, who being far from the Courte, seemed plainly to make delay, notwithstanding that he was oftentimes commaunded in the kings name to come: at what tyme he being in a great and large countrey most fitte & conuenient for his purpose by reason of y<sup>e</sup> power of them of y<sup>e</sup> religion, seemed to be in possibilitie to enioy both y<sup>e</sup> kings armie, and also the noble cities therein, he beheld dayly other enemies, whō the queene sawe to be lesse appliant to do iniurie. Therfore there came oftentimes letters of the king to d'Anvil: that eyther setting all excuse asyde & leauing the prouince in peace he would come vnto the king, or els verily that he should be apprehended amidst these communications of peace. And for this purpose M. Sansulpis, and M. Villeroy were sent to d'Anvil vnder the colour of peace, speciall commaundements of the Queene concerning this matter being giuen to M. Suz and Mongeron, who in those partes were of great authoritie among the Catholiques.

On the other parte the Queenes enemyes had their secret counsailes, the ende whereof was, that an assembly of States might bee had euen by meere commaundement, and that the gouernement of the Realme might be restored to a better state: concerning the which matter what we know, we wil speake anon. Therfore while the Queene sent often messengers into Languedoc concerning peace, both d'Anvil was diligent in his assayes, and also they of the Religion wished peace.

Nevertheless they of the religion made new delays dayly by those communications of peace (which they called a collation) and messengers were sent to and fro from the Courte into Languedoc. These things thus continued from January vnto the moneth of March.

AT THE laste, Henry Valoys came into Polonia, and was receyued with great pompe of the Polonians. And after that the royall Funerallcs belongyng vnto



The Coro-  
nation of the  
King of Po-  
lonia.

Kings was celebrated for Sigismond, who notwithstanding dyed in June in the yeere M.D. Lxxij. the newe king was crowned in a great assembly of the nobles and people of Polonia, at Cracouia, by the Arch bishop of Gnesen, the eightenth of February of this present yeere.

M. Mombrane towards the ende of the moneth of March, came with his arme into that parte of Dauphine, which lyeth vpon the coast of the Riuer of Rosne, and tooke certayne small townes, as Loriol, Liberon, Alet, Gran, and Royons, and repaired the decayed walles of Liberton and Loriol. After this, he made an inroade and inuasion of all that countrey, violently assailing the gates of Valence, of L' Crest, and of Montile. And he conspired against the most noble Cities, and specially against Montile the which conspiracie the Catholiques turned to the destruction of many. Vpon this occasion the noble men of the Religion, which lay in corners untill y<sup>e</sup> tyme, seeing the present perill that hung ouer their heades, came and toynted themselves with Mombrane.

VVE SAYD before that Orange was taken by Glandag, to giue occasions of warre. Whilest he was absent, Berchon by the helpe & industrie of certayne of the Citizens of Orange tooke the Castell and the Citie: notwithstanding parte of the townsmen were soe averse, and they also of the Religion which dwelt there aboutes, as if Berchon would haue restored the Romish Religion, and still entreated them of the religion. Nevertheless he going about no new thing, gaue them to vnderstande, that hee helde the Castell and the Citie in the name of his Prince, that all Citizens, without difference of Religion might liue peaceably according to the forme of the Edicte. And to their neighbours of Arminia which seemed to be in possibillie to get that Citie, to the which they bare alway a private grudge, were put out of all hope to obtayne the same. Berchon was sayd to be very familiar with Cardinall Arminiac the Popes Legate, but not without great suspicion of a summe of money receiued.

ABOVY the same tyme, the Catholiques thought that they

they had occasion offered them to get Nismes by treasō. There is a little towne neere vnto Nismes called Margaret, of the which M. Santaial a noble man, had the gouernement with a strong garrison, who by the meanes of certayne of the Catholiques of Nismes, delt with a certain captayn of the townsmen named Deron: and promised a great summe of money to sell him by what meanes he might get the Citie. The captayne by and by betrayed this matter vnto M. Sanroman the Lieutenant, who commaunded him to offer diligently bys traucile vnto Santaial, to couenant with him for his reward, and to appoint the day and the manner of the enterprise. Then Deron without delay, vnder colour of a priuy escape, spake with Santaial, receyued his reward, and prescribed the day, & the manner how hee might bring his purpose to passe. The which being done, he enformed Sanroman of the whole matter. The manner of this treason should be thus, namely, that one of the gates of the citie should be left open for Santaial to enter. Therefore the gate was left open according to couenant on the day appointed, the warders vsing greate silence: notwithstanding all things were prepared to receyue the enemy. But none of the Catholiques appeared, hauing intelligence of deceipt, notwithstanding that for this purpose bandes of the catholiques were come out of the countrey of Viuairetz & Dauphine, and from diuers other places. About the same time also D'Anuill should haue bene taken by treason, which was betrayed, and the traytor hanged. These were two practises of great wayght to furdor the Queenes purpose, if they had successe according to hir mynde.

ABOVT the same time, they of Villeneuve (of whom we spake before) sent certayne bandes of the Catholiques, without toulle of any one of theit men: and tooke a little towne called Aubenac not far from the Riuier of Roine: and thus the Garrison almost which remayned of those that were slayne of Lions.

CHRISTOPHER some of the Counte Palatine, ioyned himselfe with Graue Lodowic, who vntill that day



had borne no Armour, according to the forme of the  
 othe whiche hee took at Mountes. Who brought an ar-  
 mie of two thousand horsemen unto his brother the Prince of  
 Orange. And while he tarried at Mastricte the space of two  
 monethes, looking for his foteband of Gascoines, and practi-  
 sing by counsaile in the meane tyme to take the Castel of And-  
 werp, was at the last very sore charged with the kings po-  
 wer in the territorie of Mokens, within the dominion of  
 Cleueland, two myles from Nijmegen. And hauing untill  
 the evening valiantly withstood their force, took Sig. Laso,  
 a man of great fame among the Spaniardes. The daye  
 following, about the breake of the day, the kings partes gi-  
 uing a freshe assaulte, at what tyme the Graue Lodowic had  
 sent away parte of his horsemen to prouide forrage, and the  
 Launceknights came on very slowly to the battaile, the  
 Spaniardes gotte at the laste the victorie, but not without  
 bloudshed, the chiefe Captaynes Christopher and Lodowic  
 being losse in that conflicte: whose death was doubted a long  
 tyme. Notwithstanding this is certayne, that they had re-  
 ceuyed so many woundes before they were slayne, that they  
 being diligently sought for among the deade bodies of  
 such as were slayne, coulde not bee knownen. Thys  
 slaughter happened the seuentene of Aprill of thys present  
 yere.

About the beginning of Februarie, there brake forth newe  
 bandes of newe men in the countrey of Poictou, which  
 called themselves Politikes and Malecontentes: of the which  
 some professed that they sought the reformation of the realme:  
 other some the reuenge of their parentes and kinsmen which  
 were slayne in the furies on Saint Barthelmewes day. These  
 toynded themselves with those of the Religion: who almost  
 about the same tyme had begoon warre a freshe in the coun-  
 trey of Poictou, hauing Monsieur L'Noe their Cap-  
 tayne.

ALSO at the same instant almoste Countie Mon-  
 gomeri, comining out of England into Normandy, took  
 Sanlo,

Sanlo, and Charent, towne neere vnto the Sea coast : and in Normandy the lower he tooke the towne called Donfro. Therefore these newe commotions of the Politikes and of the Religious caused newe musters of men in those partes, and it was sayde that this was the beginning of great matters, and that many noble men would come vnto this warre . But whereunto this came we will shewe by and by.

Almost at the same tyme, namely the last of February, there was great feare in the Courte . It was tolde the Queene that there was certayne troupes of horsemen scene ryding to and fro neere vnto Sangerman, where the king at that tyme lay . This so sodayne feare caused the number to bee thought the greater. M.d'Guitri a noble man, was Captayn ouer those troupes, which cōtayned fve hundred horsemen. The Queene tolde the king hereof, being at the poynt of death, and caused him to bee remoued out of hande from Sangerman to Paris. And shee sent messengers vnto M.d'Guitri, to knowe of hym in the kings name, what his entent was. Who deliuered vnto the messengers certayne petitions concerning the reformation of the Realme, and the restoring of the authoritie of the states : and so within fewe dayes after, departed, not knowing what would ensue thereof . In the meane tyme the Queene apprehended many in the Courte, and in diuers places of Paris, whom shee thought to bee gilltie of this conspiracie: among which, of the nobilitie was M.Coconals, and d'Mole of Arles, one of the familiar frendes of the Duke of Alanson.

Also, at the same tyme the Marchalles Momorencie and Colse were in the Courte. They within certayne dayes after, were at the commaundement of the king and Queene apprehended by the Kings Garde, and were openly in the sight of all men, caryed into the Castell of Bastill.

The Queene also caused Rumors to be spred abroad, that they were the authoys of a bolde conspiracie, concernyng the intercepting of the King, and the setting out of the kyngdome to the Duke of Alanson, to the ende they might



might rule all things as they themselves lusted. Therefore she commaunding the household seruants of the king of Nauar, and of his sonne the Duke of Alanson to be taken away, caused them to be kept close prisoners, that they might go no whither nor do any thing without keepers. She depprived D'Anuill also of the gouernment of Languedoc as accessarie to the sayd conspiracie: and she sent the Prince d'Alphine the sonne of Montpensier into Dauphine with great power to bee gouernour of Languedoc: and she wrote vnto the Senat of Tholose concerning the same deppriuation of d'Anuill. Also she commaunded the Lord d'Acier by hir letters, who was an enemy to d'Anuill, to ayde d'Alphine in the custody of Languedoc, & to bring vnto him all the power hee was able to make. All these things were done in the kings name.

Montbrune, about the very coming of the Prince D'Alphine, slew five Ensignes of footemen at a towne called Pontrecau.

In the meane tyme D'Anuill lay still, doing all things in the kings name: neyther did he enterpryse any thing any whit the more when he understood of the imprisonment of his brother. But the kings letters which Prince d'Alphine sent vnto the lord d'Acier, were intercepted at Puhin, and came to his handes, and by that hee perceyued the treason wrought against him: then began he more openly to deale with them of the religion, and to talke also with mon<sup>r</sup> Sanroman, & to take certayne cities: but somewhat to late. For he lost the more noble cities by his long delay. But he tooke Mountpellier, Boucar, Lunell, and Pezenac: and from Pezenac he was repulsed by the treason of a certaine Captayne, to whom hee had committed both the Citie and also his daughter which was but two yeeres olde.

Two noble  
men beheaded

At the last, by the kings commaundement, M. Cocornals, and d'Mole were atayned in the Senat of Paris, and were condemned of high treason against the kings person & the state: for which they were put to death, and their goods confiscate to the King. Rumors were spread abroad that the Memorencies  
and

and Marshall Cofse, were the chiefe authors of their conspiracies: and yet notwithstanding it is evidently knowen, that neither Cononas nor d'Mole, nor any of those which were apprehended, had committed any such thing. Men sayd that the Duke of Alanson sought to flee vnto Lodowic Nafsau, bicause he knew that treason was practised against him. The Senate doubted to condemne them for this cause: for that the house of Nafsau were called by the king in his Edicte, his frendes. But to the ende the treason might appere by the confession of those that were apprehended, the king pronounced Lodowic Nafsau to be his enemy. And so the Senate gaue sentence against them. Amidst these domestickall confusions of the courte, all things were ordered either by blinde treason, or els by mad violence. Wyse men blamed much the lingering delay of y<sup>e</sup> Marshalls, who deferring the tyme, losse all occasions to bring any thing well to passe: and so behaued themselves, that they seemed neuer so much as to haue those matters in their thought. Notwithstanding it was certainly reported, that a great number of the nobilitie of France, abhorring long ago the gouernement of the Queene, and of straungers, bicause they were not only reiected, but were also in daunger of their lyfe to fill, by those furies on Saint Barthelmewes day, had determined to reuyn againe the authoritie of the States, and to reforme all things according to the prescript of the auncient lawes of the Realme. To this also there was added a newe cause, namely the dyspayred health of the King. Therefore he being dead, it was sayd, that their purpose was to give the gouernement of the Realme vnto the Duke of Alanson, in the absence of his brother, which was next heire vnto the Crowne. It was also necessarie for the peace and tranquillitie of the Realme, that Religion should be prouided for. We will in another place set downe the forme of that protestation, in the which d'Amuill declareth the causes why he armed him selfe.

Treason also was practised against the Prince of Conde. Who at that tyme was at Amiens, the chiefe citie of Picardie. And hauing intelligence of the treason, went out of Amiens a hunting,



hunting, as he pretended, according to his wonted manner: and so comming home to his house, & making M. Tore one of the brethren of Momorencie acquainted with his purpose, came with all posting speed into Germany, where he was very courteously receyued.

Within few dayes after, y<sup>e</sup> king of Nauar published a bil, by which he clered himself from all suspicio of the said conspiracie against y<sup>e</sup> king. Men said y<sup>e</sup> this was made by the subtil practise of y<sup>e</sup> Queene, y<sup>e</sup> the hatred & spite of y<sup>e</sup> whole matter might light vppō the heades of y<sup>e</sup> Marshals. And thus he beginneth.

Because I vnderstand that certaine deceyuers haue dishon-  
nestly and wickedly spied abroad false rumors concernyng  
mee, by the which to the dishonour of my name, that duetic  
which I owe vnto my soueraigne Lord the King, is brought  
in doubt, as though I were partaker of that conspiracie lately  
reuealed at Sangerman: I haue (I say) for this cause intrea-  
ded the Kings maiestie to giue me leaue to write these things,  
thereby euidently to signify my will vnto all men. Therefore  
my desire is that all men know, that the same matter is most  
false & fayned, & such as neuer came in my mynde. And I am  
so far from being guiltie of this fault, that I am rather perswa-  
ded (according to the bonde both of nature, and also of deuine  
and humane lawes) to spende my lyfe and goods, and to lose  
my frendes, for the dignitie of my soueraigne Lord the King  
and the safetie of his faithfull subiectes, and by all manner of  
meanes to withstand their enterprises, who being Rebels to  
the King, doe trouble the peace and tranquillitie of y<sup>e</sup> realme.  
The lyke bill also was leuerally published by the Duke of  
Alanfon.

VVE spake before concerning the comming of Countie  
Mongomerie into Normandy. And, hee was not long in the  
towne of Sanlo, but M. Matigon the Kings Lesctenant of the  
lower Normandy beseeged the same. So soone as Mongome-  
rie sawe that the same was beseeged, after deliberation had, he  
went out of the towne with a hundred and threescore horse-  
men, (for he had not two hundred in all) and came to Danfro,  
which,

which, as we sayd before, he had taken. Danfro is a little town of the lower Normandy, in the territorie of Palsi the Duke of Alansons dominion, which towne was hitherto obscure, and now by the calamitie of Mongomerie made famous, beyng walled rounde about with a weake wal, yet notwithstanding fortified with a strong Castell: all along the same ran the river of Meisne. Mongomerie purposed for the refreshing of his horses to tarry there certayne dayes, and then to ioyne him selfe to the succours of his fellows, which came dayly out of diuers partes of Normandy and of other quarters therabouts. So soone as Mons. Matigon heard hereof, how h<sup>e</sup> Mongomerie was within the walles of Donfro, he came without delay to Donfro, leaving parte of his armie at the siege of Sanlo: and with the sounde of Trumpets gathered together from all partes a great number of those countrey men, and sent vnto the King for more ayde. There came therefore vnto him of the Kings Souldiers from all places: the citie was beleeged, and the walles sodently battered with great guns. Mongomerie at the first sought to deliuer him selfe out of the towne: the which when he could not doe, hee lefte the Citie, and tooke the Castell. He had with him scarce a hundred and fyftie Souldiers: who being out of hope, sought all occasions, eyther by colour of eruption, or by parley to flee vnto the enemye. The Castell was battered with ordinance. The fyrst charge Mongomerie valiantly withstode, to the great hurte of his enemies: but when he sawe that his men fell away from him, and that hee wanted things necessarie for the defence of hym selfe and the Castell, hee desired to parley with M. Matigon: and yelded him selfe and his men vnto hym vppon certayne conditions: namely that hee and his might departe with their lyues: that for certayne dayes hee might go whether hee would: and that hee should departe without losse of lyfe in safetie so soone as he had deliuered vp the Castell. And thus hee yelded vp the castell and hym selfe to M. Matigon. Then the Kynges Souldiers runnyng through the breaches of the walles into

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into the Castell, due whomsoever they met contrary to their fayth and promise. And Mongomeri was by and by brought vnto the King. But what was decreed concerning him, wee will shewe hereafter. And within fewe dayes Saulo and Charrent were yelded vp to the King. This was the successe of Mongomeries warre. He was taken the xxvij. day of May of this yere.

The death of  
King Charles

THE King was sicke dayly more and more. And being sore greued and payned certayne monethes, dyed the thirtie day of May, being Whitsunday, otherwise called Pentecoste: he being of the age of xxv. yeres. All monumētts and chronicles will for euer declare that his raigne and tyme of gouernment, was most disquiet and troublesome with cruell & outrageous garboyles of ciuill warres, notable with examples of vnspokeable treason and crueltie, and most lamentable to all the inhabitantes of France, all order being troden vnder foote by the subtill practises of straungers. His sicknesse was wonderfully cloaked and in secrecie couered: wherefore I cannot perticularly expresse any thing for certayne. Tyme shall discover and betwray euery circumstance. Most certayn it is, that he was sicke of a bloody fluxe. And it is reported for truth among the greater parte, that y<sup>e</sup> blood issued from diuers partes of his body, that in his bed hee tumbled and tossed and could take little rest, horribly cursing and blaspheming the name of God, which he had bled to doe euen from his childehood, and that in great fume and anger hee called and repeated oftentimes the name of the Momorencies. And bicause it was vehemently suspected that he was poysoned, to make him with more ease to vomit (men say) that hee was bolstered vp with pillows that his feete might lye hyer than his head, whereby he cast out such abundant store of blood, that hee dyed within fewe houres after: And he did nothing but blaspheme vntill the last gaspe. Concerning his last will and testament, as the Queene offered the same to the Senat of Paris, we wil speake in another place.

WE spake before of the victorie gotten ouer the Prince  
of

of Oranges parte at Neijmegen. The Spaniards being proudly puffed bp with the successe thereof, foure thousand of them, to whom Don d'Avila, Lieftenant of the Castell of Andwerpe, and also Captayne of the armie had promised the paye of xxxviij. monethes, which was due vnto them, if they gotte the victorie against Lodowic: these foure thousand, I say, raising sedition against the Citie of Andwerpe (being the most famous and rich towne of Marchantes in all Europe) brake forth in the night by a bridge which they had set to the wals, the Spaniardes which were in the Castell suffering the same. Then comming into the market place, & placing watche and ward in diuers places, made a great crye for payment of their money: threating the general spoyle of the Citie if they were not satisfied out of hande. Concerning the which matter, while the Citizens of Andwerpe consulted with the Kings deputie, the Spaniardes in the meane tyme by the space of two monethes spoiled and tooke their pleasure of the Citie in moste shamefull manner. The Duke Reguizens the Kings deputie, sayning that he was greatly displeased with this sedition of the Spaniardes, (for there are some which beleue that he was the author and cause of all that tumult, bicause the states of the low countrey had before that tyme refused to pay that money which he often tymes required of them) hauing at the last obtained of the Spaniards y<sup>e</sup> summe of CCCC. M. Crownes, pardoned the Spaniardes for the sedition, and professed with taking an othe that he would neuer for that matter eether generally or particularly execute any punishment vppon them: whereat all the States were not a little offended. For of this tumult this happened, that the Prince of Oranges parte being greatly abashed with the slaughter at Nijmegen, receyued now agayne courage and boldnes, all the whyle that the Spaniardes continued the tumult in Andwerpe. Moreover it happened that while the Spaniardes were occupied in receyving & paying of money, on Whitsunday in Saint Michails house, which standeth vppon the key or shoze of the Riuer of Scelde, the Prince of Oranges Raue, tooke and caried out of  
the



the channell of Schelde in the sight of many standers by upon the shoere, foure and twentie shippes of warre, laden with gunnes, armour, and bisual. This is most certayne, that there could happen nothing more conuenient to promote the assaieses of the Prince of Orange, nor any thing more effectuell to overthrow the force of the Spaniards, than that tumult rayled in Andwerpe.

The which shal dayly more and more appere by the successe of the same.

(.:)

*Yea come Lord Iesu.*



## TO THE READER,


**I**N Orsomuch as in this historie we haue in diuers places briefly touched the affayres of the low countrey, wee thought it necessary to adde to the ende of this worke this Epistle following, which containeth a summe of the tumults of the low countrey: The same being at the first published in the Dutch tong in the yeere of our Lord.M.D.LXXIII.in the moneth of September,& afterward by a certaine Dutchman turned into Latine, and sent vnto vs with this title as followeth.

at Dortrecht

*Knuttel, 1<sup>v</sup>: no. 213.*






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 ry we have in divers places  
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 title as followeth.



¶ A Supplication to the Kings Ma-  
iesty of Spain, made by the Prince of Orange, the States of Hol-  
lande and Zealand, with al other his faithful subiects of the  
lowe Countreyes, presently suppressed by th: tyrannie of the  
Duke of Alba, and Spaniardes. By which is declared the  
original beginning of the commotions and troubles hap-  
pened in the saide lowe countrey.



*Ost Soueraigne Lord, your*  
Maiesties most obedient and lamenting  
subiectes of the lowe Countreyes, as they  
haue often pondered with them selues, the  
natural affectio and fatherly good inclina-  
tion, which your Maiestie hath (since the time that your  
grace by the power of almightie God receiued the domini-  
on and regiment of the sayde countries) alwayes and con-  
tinually shewed: so haue they had a sure hope and vndoub-  
ted affiaunce, that your Maiestie as well vppon their daily  
complaintes and lamentations, as vpon the pitifull decla-  
rations and remonstrances of some christian Princes and  
Potentates vnto your Maiestie, mercifullz haue conside-  
red of our pitiful and most miserable suppression, wherewith  
wee by reason of the great and vnsupportable force, arro-  
gancy, and wicked regiment of the Duke of Alba are sup-  
pressed, and mercifullz haue regarded the most miserable  
ruine and destruction of these your natural lowe coun-  
treys, who alwayes haue bin most faithfull and obedient,  
both to your Maiestie, and also your Graces predecessours.  
Not doubting but that your Maiestie woulde greenously  
haue been moued, that hee vnder pretence of protecting and  
defending the Romish religion, vnder the colour of your  
Maiesties name, shoulde presume to frustrate and breake  
all privileges, customes, & rightes, wherunto your Ma-  
iestie

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## A Supplication.

ieslie and your predecessours haue sworne, persecuting your faithfull subiectes in body and goods, and destroying your countries, in none other sort, but as if he had declared himselfe to bee an open enemy of your Maiestie and the subiectes of the same.

Therefore haue they alwayes earnestly attended, that your Maiestie no longer suffering the sayde force, woulde haue prouided some convenient meanes for y<sup>e</sup> safegarde of your countreys, and deliuerance of your poore and suppressed subiectes, and haue a respect to the duetifull office of a king, whom the almighty God, the king of all kings hath placed and ordeined as a protectour of the righteous, and a fatherly pastor of the people vnder your subiectiō, to defend and preserue them from all force and violence: and likewise to remember the manifolde and faithfull seruices, which your saide countries and subiectes, haue from tyme to tyme most faithfully don to your Maiestie and your predecessours.

But they nowe (to their extreme greefe) considering that all their former supplications are as nothing regarded and in vaine, and that all other the remonstrances of sundry Princes and Potentates, haue sorted no such effect as might haue turned to their comfort and consolation, and they in their consciences assuring themselves, that your Maiestie hath no reasonable occasion vpon euil wil or displeasure, so to alienate and turne your selfe from your lamentable subiectes: can not but vndoubtedly suspect, that through malice and false information of some, who hauing moze regarde to their priuate lust and appetite, thā to the seruice of your Maiesty, haue dayly laboured to bring your Maiesties countreys into your displeasure, wherein they haue alwayes most manifestly and vnfainedly pretended and traуayled, not onely by letting and defending that our humble supplications and faithfull warnings shoulde come to your Maiesties eares, misconstruing the same to the

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the worst, and peruerfly accusing them to your Maiestie, thereby to bring the countrey into dissention and commotion, and so vnder your name to suppressse and make desolate the same, and so with the goods and bloud of your subiectes to quench their greedy and vn-satiabie appetite.

This is that (O most soueraigne King) which your sayd subiectes do, and haue not without occasion esteemed to be the greatest calamitie that might happen vnto them, as considering that the way and meanes wherby they might complayne and shewe their griefes to your Maiestie, as to their bountifull and natural Protector (so by God appointed as a refuge in their extremitie) is by the vngodly dealing of their enemies taken away from them: a thing which alwayes hath bin permitted to vnreasonable creatures: namely to suffer them in their extremitie and neede to sue for remedy and redresse.

And therfore although they had resolved & taken in hand with patience to attende the time of redresse, thinking y<sup>e</sup> your Maiestie would at last haue opened your eares and eyes to heare and see their miserable estate, fro which your Maiesty by reason of their said euil willers is now lettred. But now considering in the end their suppression, the longer the more to encrease and to become more vn-sufferable, tending not onely to their damage and destruction, but also of your maiesties heritage & countries, which in times past haue flourished in all prosperitie, & now come to ruine: they could not for the faithfull obedience and alliance sake wherein they are bound to your Maiestie and their native countrey, but nowe once againe by writing, request your Maiestye to consider and weigh the originall occasion of the desolation of your countries, and by whose meanes the same is come to passe, and consequently execute the office of a true King, in defending the righteous, and deliuering your countries from this tyranny and oppression.

And first wee humbly beseeche your Maiestie to call to

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minde



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minde and consider, that these your countreies in times past hauing bin deuided amongst sundry Lordes and rulers, are since by mariages, agreements, and mutual treaties, in time, and orderly by lawfull succession and conueni- ences come vnder the house of *Burgondie*, and afterwarde, by meanes of mariages contracted with the most famous house of *Austria*, and consequently allied with the moste mightie kingdome of *spaine*, yet alwayes with expresse condition, that euery and singular the countreies and pro- uinces should possesse and enioy their owne policies, rights and liberties in tymes past accustomed, without that any prouince or countrey should be burdened of the domi- nion of the other, or by any meanes be depriued of their customes or liberties, but be bound ioyntly to lyue one with another vnder one Prince and head, as many chil- dren vnder one father, to the intent with one accorde to defende their Prince and common weale against al stran- gers and foraine force.

Also the Princes of the countrey willing as fathers to shewe and declare their loue and affection to euery one, did at their solemnizatiō and entring into their dominion and rule, by a solempne othe bynde themselves to vse and kepe eche country in their rightes and franchises, without suffering that any of them should be infringed or demini- shed, or that y<sup>e</sup> one Prouince should haue dominion or rule ou- uer the other, much lesse be subie & vnto any foraine domi- nion or power: bypon which conditions he is accepted and taken as a supreme Lord and Gouvernour ouer the coun- tries, and thereupon receyueth the othe of obedience and faithfulnessse of his subiectes.

Of which the premises needeth not any further or larger rehersal, whilst that vndoubtedly your maiestie doth suf- ficiently remembre, howe that the Emperour *Charles*, of most noble memoire, following the presidentes of his pre- decessours, and acknowledging that the sayde othe of so- lem-

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Immunitation is the onely and right fundation, vpon which doth consist aswel the might and authoritie of a Prince, as the faith and obedience of his subiectes, did in his life time, & presence of your maiestie, cause your Maiestie to receiue the sayde countries vnder the sayde othe, and sware your Maiestie to the ioyful income in al the landes & most of the towne, as next successour and onely heire of his imperiall maiestie: and afterwarde the same Imperiall maiestie departing out of these countries, and your Maiesty receiuing the full dominion, and administration of the Lande, did once againe, in presence of the deputies of the countries then assembled, rehearse & strongly confirme the saide priuileges. So that in al times past the sayde countries haue enjoyed & bin ruled by their former priuileges & liberties.

Out of which hath followed such faithfulness and obedience of the subiectes towards their Prince, and such vnitie and loue amongst eche other, that the countries by god his prouidence, haue flourished with most happy prosperitie, the Princes then adorned with all honour and high dignities, and greatly redoubted and feared of their enemies.

And because it needes not to rehearse any thing out of the olde histories, being notwithstanding replenished with many presidents, it hath appeared in all the warres of the Imperiall maiesty, what earnest care hee had to the defence and mayntenance of his countries in rest and quietnesse.

Likewise your Maiesty can wel remember, that he taking his leaue of these countries, did specially and earnestly recommend the state thereof vnto your maiesty: Pea your maiestie being at his arriual burdened with greuous warres and extreme charges, hath by experience founde that all your subiectes both great and smal, euery one to his state & abilitie, haue bin readie to venture bothe life and goods in service of your Maiesty. Wherein aswell the Lords and nobles, as commons, haue so acquitted and



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behaved themselves, that your maiestie hath vanquished and overcome your enemies, gotten great praye and renowne of al kings and potentates, and made a finall end of al warres & dissensions, wherewith many yeares before your auncetors and countries were troubled.

Now if it might please your Maiestie, (which your lamentable and faithful subiectes do most humbly require) to enquire of and consider the original occasions of the alterations of such & good quiet prosperitie, into such miserable commotions and extremities, wherewith the countries are now suppressed: your maiestie shall find them to spring out of the malice and enuie whiche some (being about your Maiestie) do beare to the prosperitie and welfare wherewith God almightie hath blessed your countries and subiectes.

Which enuie and cankered malice, being further incensed & stuffed with insatiable avarice & vnmeasurable prodigalitie, hath brought the to such cruelty and tyrannie, that they altogether forgetting al affection & seruice which they did owe vnto the countrey wherein they haue gotten great honour & benefites, haue (to y<sup>e</sup> great prejudice of the seruice of your Maiestie and common wealth of these countries) procured by all meanes and practises this most haynous fyre of commotion, to thintent to aspire to the dignity surpassing the states of the lande, yea of your maiestie.

And knowyng wel that to compasse that deuise, it was a matter impossible, the customes and liberties of the countreyes remayning in force, which do altogether contrarie their wicked pretence: considering besides, howe diligent and faithfull they of the saide countries were every one in his vocation (according to their othe) to stand to the maintenance of the same: they attempted in peruerse manner to interpret to your Maiestie the doings and proceedings of the Lordes, gouernours, and states of the land, tending to the mayntenance of the sayd rightes, and liberties, in such sorte as if they tended to disobedience or rebellion.

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bellion towards your Maiestie.

Amongst which, specially some being spirituall persons, haue by all meanes attempted and sought, vnder pretence and shadowe of religion to confederate with other foraine prelates, and so by secret attempts and practises, to bring the countrie in hatred of your Maiestie, to thinke that they with their confederates which are by oth allyed not with your Maiestie, but with straunge rulers and countries in *Italie*, and else where, specially with the Pope of *Rome*, might here beare rule and gouernance, &c. and as possibilitie and commoditie serued, to enlarge and confirme the same.

For when they first, perceined that in all the countries here abouts yea ouer all Christendome, their rude and manifest abuses, and errours, by reason of the negligence and auarice of the priestes were discribed, and specially when it began to greue the chiefe & notablest persons, that they which ought onely to meddle with instructing of the people, in the faith and feare of God, and to execute his seruice with all fidelitie, according to the example of the Prophetes and Apostles, did in steade therof, not onely contrarie to God his commaundement, but also to the decrees of the former Popes, and to al ordinances of the old counsels, yea against all statutes and blages of Princes and countries take vpon them to deale in worldly and Ciuil pollicies: yea also in matters touching warfare and rule of countries, seeking to suppress all degrees, and to reserue the generall gouernement too themselves, taking in hande too bring all estates in disdain and hatred of the Princes, aswell the subiects of your Maiestie, as of diuers other kinges and Potentates, accusing them slaunderously with sedition and rebellion: whereby they haue stirred and prouoked in all cuntries, troubles, and dissention, warres and bloudshed, setting the subiectes at discorde with their

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rulers, and the rulers against the subiectes, and generally turned all things vpside downe, and brought in execrable confusion & errour, not esteeming who was endamaged, so as they might atchieue the accomplishment of their rule and dominion, and bring all things vnder their rule and authoritie.

And to that intent, haue they sought, to plant in this countrey the inquisition, deuised and inuented in *spaine*, by certayne *Iewes*, and *Renegados*, by that meanes to breake all priuileges, rightes, and aunient customes, and to make frustrate all sworne contracts, vlags, and counsellcs, and so to get a full power and dominion ouer all your Maiesties faithfull seruants, which stand to the othe whiche they haue made to your Maiestie, not acknowledging any foraine Lords, spiritual or temporal, which might seeke by false accusations to impute vnto your subiectes, heresie & rebellion, to the intent thereby to attaine to their purpose.

For better accomplishing whereof haue they by force byged and brought in the newe Bishops, contrary to all landrights, and sworne priuileges, to the empairing of your Maiesties authoritie: choosing them not for vertue, prudence, or learning (being most of them, of the most rude and vnlearnedst sort) but onely for that they take them, as faithful and true assistentes, in the executing of their tyranny and crueltie.

Their saide vngodly enterprises and consequences of the same being the longer the more espied, haue the most notablest Lords, Gouernours, and Gentlemen, with the townes and countrey, giuen intelligence & knowledge to your Maiestie by continuall supplications, remonstrances and other possible meanes, howe much the authoritie of your Maiestie should be empaired, shortened and deminished, by the said Inquisitors and Bishops, being most of them strangers and outlanders, by othe bound vnto foraine Princes, and (as they pretende) exempt of your iurisdiction, and  
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by the same haue alleged the euident impossibilitie to bring in such innouations, and nouelties, but that it would tend to the vtter ruine and destruction of the whole countrie: seeing that it was most apparant that the bringing in therof was but a borrowed cloake to shadow their doings, in abusing of your Maiestie, and suppressing of suche as would controule their wicked and moste notorious proceedings and abuses, whiche they themselves can scarce conceale. Of which the number in these countries is so greate and manifolde, and dayly doth yet more encrease: that if your Maiestie would haue bin ruled by their persussions and counsel in executing of rigour and extremities, they would haue made your Maiestie a king without subiects, and your subiects without rulers, as is most notorious by the innumerable number of those, which in these countries haue vnder pretence of religion bene executed and murdered, aswell with fyre and water as with the sword: besides an infinite multitude whiche are fled out of the countrie, bearing with them all occupations and notable sciences to the instructing of others, & vnspokeable preiudice of your Maiestie and countries.

Whereupon your Maiestie was in the ende occasioned to a myld moderation of the placardes, by the same declaring that your meaning was not to bring in the Inquisition: which likewise was by the Duchesse of *Perma*, and the Lordes and Gouvernours of the countrie in the behalfe of your Maiestie, solemnly promised to all the Townes and subiects, and accordingly published by open proclamations, by commaundement of the Magistrates. But shortly after, all that was ouer turned by meanes of the aforesaide persons, who in deed seeme to haue firmly perswaded your maiestie, that such was to the diminishing of your maiesties reputation and dignitie, vniustly alleadging, that your subiects would withdrawe them selues from the due and full obedience of your maiestie. So that it is euident that your maiestie vpon their informations, was moued to sende the

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Duke



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Duke of *Alba* out of *spaine* into these countries, to the intent with armes and force to compel your Maiesties subiectes, to that whiche they of them selues haue with al humilitie and obedience at all times offered.

And notwithstanding that the aforesaide Lordes and Townes of these countries had good occasion to thinke that they shoulde be greatly wronged through force of foraine souldiours, and rule of a straunge Gouernour, not being of their Countre, nor of your Maiesties kinred or descent, but such a one as did beare towards them a most cancred hatred, had meanes sufficient to preuent his comming into the countrey: yet because hee came in the name of your Maiestie, and to make euident that they had not rebelled or declined from the obedience of your Maiestie, trusting to their conscience and right, haue willingly and honorably receiued him with all such as it pleased your Maiestie to sende with him, opening to him the gates of the Townes, deliuered into his handes the fortresses and strong holdes, and entertayned garrisons, onely for that he declared, that such was the will and pleasure of your Maiestie to be thereby assured of the fidelitie and obedience of your subiectes, which were accused to your Maiestie as rebels and traitours. Therefore, reason would haue required, that the aforesaid Duke of *Alba* should by al meanes and diligence haue informed your Maiestie of such your subiects true obedience and inclination: and before hee had proceeded to the executiō of rigour, taken good & full information of their complaintes: and chiefly touching the bringing in of these newe Bishops and Inquisitors, contrarping God and all rightes, and that vppon good and true report therof made to your Maiestie, redresse and remedie might haue bene had.

But nowe cleane contrarywise, so soone as he was receyued and was in possession of the force and rule of the Countrey, hath without keeping of any order of Justice, or  
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having regarde to the landrightes and priuileges wherunto your Maiestie is sworne : not onely put to death and chased away the most part of the Lords and gouernours of these countries, by your Maiestie elected and placed, but also generally declared all the priuileges and liberties to bee forfeited, and the Countrie to be vled as a countrie newly conquered by force of armes, to the vse of him and his associates, and so consequently freely to deale with the liues and goods of your subiectes, as their lustes and appetites shall require.

And if possibly might be layde before your Maiesties eyes the excessive force and not heard off cruelties which here haue bin vled since the beginning of his gouernement, by spoyling, robbing, chasing away, and desolating: by apprehending, taking, banishment, and confiscating of goods, yea by burning, hanging, heading, hacking, racking, & most horrible and not before heard off tormentes and murderings of the Subiects of your Maiestie, aswell Noble as innoble, poore as rich, yong as old, widowes and orphanes, men, women, and yong maidens, of what state, qualitie, or condition soeuer they were: we doubt not but that your Maiestie would be amazed to heare the rehearall thereof: yea and woulde be greeued at the same, that vnder your name such vnnaturall crueltie and tyrannie should be vled as neither Phalaris, Nero, Pharao, Herode, or any other Heathen Tyrant could haue inuented the like, as now is vled towards your faithfull subiects, which with their liues & goods haue alwayes laboured to keepe the Crown on your Maiesties head, against al your enemies.

And that your Maiestie would also haue taken remorse of so many innocent infants chased away out of their native Countrey into straunge lands: so many poore widowes and orphanes, and also vppon the lamentable cry of the whole Countrey whiche nowe are suppressed by this most horrible tyrant.



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For there is none whiche could defende or preserve his goods from their auarice, their wiues or daughters from their filthy lustes, or their liues from their bloudthirstinesse. Nobilitie, Riches, manhood, or good seruice done in times past, coulde nothing preuaile, if once he was entred into hatred of them. And without taking regard to the Iudiciallions or ordinarie courtes of the countrie, hath stopped the Iurisdictiones of all Iustices, either in ciuil or criminal causes which in any wise concerne the confiscations pronounced in his bloudy Counsel, in such sorte as neither spirituall or temporall persones, widowes or orphanes, hospitals, Spittels, Lazarous houses, or other whiche had good and deuable reuenues, amongst that confiscated goods, coulde get any payment or satisfaction. But the Duke of Alba hath gotten all into his hands, without any minde to discharge any the premisses, notwithstanding the diuers and earnest solicitations and requestes to him made in that behalfe by the states of the Countries, delaying the poore agreedued subiectes with dilatorie and unfounded apostillations, the one alwayes contrarying the other, and without sending ouer the matters to the prouincial Counsels or ordinarie Iustices, to the intent to make the despair of any satisfaction to be made by the courte, where by proces they haue bin summoned to their excessive charge, and bypon summes of small value haue bene forced to greater charges than the principall hath amounted vnto, not suffering any lawful transport to be made of any one debte for the other. To consider what number of honest women and yong maydens they haue with force and violence rauished, and that the one after the other: yea misused some euen to the death. Howe often haue they compelled the husband to remaine with the wife, and the father with the daughter, to force them with their eyes to beholde their most vilanous filthinesse, and made them as instrumentes to the accomplishing of their luxurious luste, vsing suche

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unnatural and beastly fashions, that wee are in a manner abashed and astonied to declare the same, to your Maiesty. How often hath it happened, that the husbände seeking to defende his wife or daughter of their raulshment, that they haue altogether as furious currees, run out of the house together crying *Spania*, *Spania*, murtherring a number of the poore commons. How in ny women gret with childe haue they ript vp the bellies of, and murtherved the fruite in their wombes.

Haue they not fleyed and pulled off the skinne of some men being aliue, and headded their drummes with the same skin? others haue they not tossed with smal fires, nipped the with red burning tongs euen to the death, and consequently murtherved a number, and made them dye a hundreth deathes? How many women haue they chaled from their husbands, and children from their parentes: yea what is there vnder the heauens so honest or holy which they haue not defiled and troden vnder foote? Verily amongst all other Nations, yea amongst the cruellest, the burying of the dead, hath alwayes bin permitted and reuerenced.

But this Tyrant in the despyte of God and nature, is so obstinate and peruerse, that hee hath caused to be taken out of the graue the carcasses of the dead, and conueied vnder the gallowes, vnder pretence, that some of them dying without shifte, & others without houseling, had forsaited their goods, which he tooke as confiscated. What is there amongst men more holy and honest, than is the state of Matrimonie being the only and true foundation of all mutual loue & frendship, the original of the loue, bond of peace, & the direct way of al dealings amongst men: wherof this Tyrant maketh so little accompte, that hee seuereth the men from their wiues, and the wiues from their husbands, being ioyned together in the congregation before God and his Angels, cleane contrary to the commaundement and institution of almighty God, and rightes, & al vnder pre-



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tence that they were ioyned together in the way of heresie : but to say truth, it is onely in spoyling manner, to matche the beautifull and riche Matrons with his Souldiers and ruffians, and finally by his crueltie burst in sunder the originall bande tending to the intertayning of all mutuall loue: murthering and killing the women which in time of extremitie had releued their husbands, and the children for succoring the necessitie of their parents, yea those which had only with a letter comforted any of them. And to the ende that nothing should by him be left vndefiled, hath he troden in most despitefull manner vnder foote the most holy Sacrament of Baptisme, whereby we are incorporated in the body of Iesus Christ and communion of God his Church, willing and commaunding that those children which were Christened openly and lawfully according to the institution of Iesus Christ, in the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, should once agayne be baptised, vnder pretence that they were Christened as Heretiques, and repugnant contrary to all godly and naturall rightes, ordinances of the Church, and decrees of Councils.

Furthermoze it needeth not to rehearse to your Maesty, the greuous exactions inuented by him, one after another, and without measure doth vexe of the poore commons, as the hundrethes, twenties, yea the tenth penie, of all goodes, mouables and immouables, of all goodes bought and solde, demaunding, yea and byging by execution contrary to the aduice and counsell of all estates in these countries, not of the cleare gaires of the same, but the tenth, and twentie penie of the capitall summe of all sales. Whereby not only all trades and traffiques, are abandoned out of the land, but likewise the subiects of the same, depriued from the getting of the liuing, of them, their wiues, and children. And notwithstanding that the states, haue at sundry times done their endeuour largely to infourme the said Duke of y<sup>e</sup> inconueniences which might follow vpon the said demaund :  
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and requested that he would in their behalfe aduertise your Maiestie thereof: would not hearken to them but shaked them off without any comfort: although he was by intercession of the counsell and estates of the lande therevnto most earnestly instanced, and so thereby caused the decay of al marchandise, compelled the inhabitants through misery to flee away into other countries. And yet it is apparant, y when any necessitie is towards for paymēt of the souldiers, no money is to be had, in such sort that the Spanishe souldiers are at afterdele in their payment. xxviij. moneths and the Dutch most of them constrayned to goe a begging from doze to doze: of whiche some haue by famine and miserie perished. Notwithstanding the great summes which the states haue leuied & paid to the paying of the said souldiers, and yet neuerthelesse haue his garnisons consumed and eaten out the most part of y towncs and suppressed y same with y *seruitio*, which they haue bin forced to minister to the said Spanishe souldiers, and those which haue gyuen most money, as well to him, as to *Don Frederico*, or any of theirs, haue bin the first that were discharged of the sayde bondage of *seruitio*. With whiche garrisons he hath most vexed y towncs situated within the hart of the countrie: leauing the borders and other places of importāce without any garison, wherby in some places, things are come to alteration: besides that by reason of lacke of pay, his Spanishe souldiers are fallen into a most licentious and vnspokeable order of life, threating, beating, robbing, spoyling, & by all maner of cruell exactions vsing your subiects: whereby is manifest, that vnder pretence of your Maiesties name and religio, he setteth nothing but to fyll his greedy and bloud-thirsty appetite, being to the contrary most notozious that he hath so litle regard to the service of your Maiesty, as to the maintenāce of the commō weale of the low countries, which he suffereth vtterly to perishe and goe to ruine.

But what nedeth it w words to expresse this, as if he had  
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not sufficiently manifested wherunto his proceedings haue tended, shewing it being blinded with his most vnlatiable presumptuousnesse, and desire of vaine glory: as in a token of a *Tropheum*, or signe of victorie in his notorious proceedings, as before rehearsed hath caused to be erected within the castel of *Andwerpe*, a brassen Image standing vpon the nobilitie and states of the countrey. Wee leaue nowe vnrehearsed what his meaning was thereby, but when, or where, hath it bene seene that any Tyrant in his life time hath caused any such Image to be erected. Wee finde that the Romaine Emperours & Kings, which in a manner had brought the whole worlde vnder their subiection, haue sometimes caused to be erected Images of brasse & stone: as at this present the Popes of *Rome*, who pretend to be gods vicar, yet it is done by ordinance and consent of the counsell and commons, or at the least by their aduise and sufferance: but that they in their life time haue done such, is not to be found by any examples or Chronicles, considering it to be a manifest token of madde arrogancie and insupportable pride. Wee finde onely that *Nabuchodonosor*, who caused himselfe to be honoured as a God, set vp the like Image, commaunding all men to kneele and bowe vnto the same: yet durst hee not do it but by consent of the chiefe and nobles of his countrey.

But this Tyrant doth aswel in his presumptuous arrogancie as in execrable tirannie surpasse all other tiraunts: who as though he woulde not onely aduance himselfe to the roome of the king, but likewise in God his place: hath without the aduise, counsell, or ordinance of any, in his life time erected this proud Image, to the defacing and emparing of your Maiesties dignity, shewing thereby his force and tyranny wherewith he hath subdued and brought vnder foot these countries.

And in like manner he hath not bene afraide, following the example of the tyrant *Herode*: to place himselfe vpon  
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the market place of *Andwerpe*, in your Maiesties steele and cloth of estate: which neuer had bin touched by any Lieutenant befoze, sitting there representing the absence of your Maiestie, as an Idol, and vnder pretence of publishing of a pardon: which neuer Queene, Duke, or any Gouvernours or Gouvernauts of these countries haue done the like: tending to the manifest disestimation and abasing of your Maiesties honour and dignitie.

These proceedings, most soueraigne king are become so apparant and euident vnto all the worlde, that all straunge nations, and Potentates, haue a terroure and execration therat, insomuch as euen the Duke of *Alba* his souldiours, and seruantes, doe protest and say, that they can not esteeme such for good, much lesse that the seruice of your Maiestie, and welfare of the countrie, should therein consist.

Besides, that we can not thinke that your Maiestie being therof sufficiently and truly informed, would permit such forces and violences, for it was neuer heard that any King or Potentate, hath so vnnmercifully dealt with his subiects. Your Maiesties auncestours of most famous memory, haue in most milde and Gentle maner behaued themselves towards their subiects, that they haue therof giuen a most laudable example not only to their successours, but also to other Christian Princes, Dukes, and rulers, that when so euer any dissention was risen betweene the subiects and Magistrates, by reason of misgouernement, and taken armes in hande: and being againe brought vnder obedience by their Lordes and rulers, were neuer molested with these examples of crueltie, but by expresse capitulation from word to word, confirmed all their priuileges and liberties, and the same to enioy their full effect.

So as wee shoulde greatly wrong your Maiestie, if wee should perswade our selues that your Maiestie were so far diuerted from the example of your predecessours, and from the duetie of all other Christian Princes and Potentates,

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that in stead of ministring right and Iustice to your obedient subiects, and giuing audience to their most pitifull complaints, should sende such a tirant in such sort crueltie to murder them, destroying the country, and burthening your subiects w<sup>th</sup> most intollerable slavery, seruitude, & thraldom.

And nowe the saide Duke presenting vnto vs his sayned pardons, vnder the name of your Maiestie, for our rebellions and misdemeanours (as he termeth them) we could not accept the same without depryuing of your Maiesties dignitie.

Knowing wel, that your Maiestie will not, before hauing heard the iustnesse of our cause, condemne vs of rebellion. Where is there any that iustly haue informed your Maiestie of our dealings, or when did euer your Maiestie giue eare vnto any, but such as were our manifest enemies? Reason requireth both partes to be heard, before sentence should be pronounced. And therefore in the Cronicles of *Alexander the great*, is much comended: who whensoever he heard any parties, leaned w<sup>th</sup> his head vpon his shoulders with one of his eares closed, and being asked why he so did, answered that the latter party ought as wel haue audience as the first, which order hath alwayes bin had in estimation of all nations, as being conformable to all natural rightes. So as no offendour, what greuous crimes soeuer he had committed, shal be iudged or condemned, but that he shal first answere vnto such accusations as are alleged against him.

Now most mercifull and soueraigne Lord and King, we do most humbly prostrate our selues vnder the foote of your Maiestie, most hartely requesting the same, y<sup>t</sup> it would please your Grace to bend towards vs one eare, & (as in a ballaunce) equally to wey our estates. Your Maiesty hath by postes, letters & other meanes, bin informed of this present estate, & our mouthes haue bin closed vp, our tongues pearced with red burning Irons, and our lippes seared vp with  
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burning tongs, because we shuld not giue our necessitie to vnderstand. The wales haue as yet bin taken from vs, so that our lamentable cries could neuer come vnto, or pearce the eares of your maiestie.

How then can your Maiestie condemne vs of rebellion (which alwaies we haue had in hatred) bicause that y<sup>e</sup> Duke of *Alba*, doth seeke to bring vs vnder his subiection with his letters of pardon, & we nothing esteeming of the same: which he perceiuing, and that with force he can not (by god his prouidence) preuaile, we cannot therfore accept his said letters, as being direct to vs who neuer strayed from your obedience, except it were that we wold take & acknowledge the Duke of *Alba* for our king: for him onely haue we resisted and not your Maiesty, whom we with life and goods (so long as it shall please God to permit vs the same) will faithfully serue and obey. And therfore his pardon doth nothing touch vs, which tendeth onely to the Townes which haue bin seduced from the Kings obedience. But we marke his intent, knowing that either he would be king himselfe, or else that we by enticement of his subtile pardons shoulde condemne our selues. For we receiuing pardon, muste acknowledge our selues guilty of commotions & rebellion against our King, of tumult and sedition, yea of heresie and declining from the Christian faith, and in fine, to the depriuing of the honour of God and the kings Maiestie. This is his seeking, that by receiuing of his false and fained pardons, we should by our subsignations & seales confirme the same, to the intent that he hereafter might therby defend & excuse himselfe of tyrannie, before your Maiestie and al other christian Princes and Potentates, saying, that if wee had not found our selues culpable in these greuous offences for which we were punished and tormented, we would neuer haue receiued any remisse or pardon.

Wherein wee take God, the searcher and knower of all hartes, and your Maiestie to witnesse, that if wee haue

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committed any such offences, as by the said pardon are layd to our charge, that we do altogether refuse all pardon, but desire as the most wickedst and vilest creatures on earth to make satisfaction for our offences with our blood, and doe not refuse, O most mercifull King, one after another, to suffer most extreme torments, if it may be found that wee haue offended in such order as is presumed.

And do request the Duke of *Alba*, (if any petition will take place with him) that all such as come to him for pardon, acknowledging the pretended offence, that hee wythout shewing of mercy, doe entreate them in such sorte as their offences (according to right haue) deserued, commending him therein in giuing or maintayning any faith or credit with him as one so vnfaithful to god & his king, as hath not bin abashed so greatly to abuse & contemne their maiesties.

But what is it, it shall not be found that euer we haue thought any such matter, much lesse in effect shewed y same. We haue alwayes bin faithful & seruisable to our King, & sought to serue God, the father of our Lord Iesus Christ in spirite and truth, according to his word and commaundement, so farre as our feeble nature would permit, euen to the last droppe of our blood.

But considering that the Duke of *Alba* in stead of executing equitie and Justice, and hearing of their complaints and greefes, and persecuting of your Maiesties promises, hath contrary to all right and reason, & our rites and priuileges, suppressed vs with most cruel tyrannie, destroyed our Countries, and bled vs more seuerely, than euer Jewes or Turkes haue don against their baquished enemies. And in the meane space hath hee accused vs to your Maiestie, and all other christian Potentates with false accusations of rebellion and heresie: and we neuer could come to our answer, or receiue any comfort in the vniuersall world. So as by necessitie we haue bin forced to take the armes in hand, & by all meanes possible sought to defende  
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our poore native Countrey from suche execrable tyrannie : and rather with one accord to spend our lyues, than to fall into the hands of such a Tyrant: wherein we meane to persist, except that it please your Maestie with mercifull cares to attend to our complayntes, and minister to vs Justice against such oppression and tyrannie. For God be thanked, we are not so ill instructed in his word, but that we knowe very well, that aswell our life as deathe consisteth in hys hands, and that this death which no man can escape, is but as a ready path to the life euerlasting.

Therefore, seeing our death may be a pleasure to other, we chuse rather to dye an honorable death in the behalfe of the liberties and common weale of our Countrey, than to fall into such seruitude, and become footescoles vnto moste arrogant aliants, who alwayes haue hated vs. For at the least we shall therby leaue to our succors such a good fame, as it may be sayd, that their Predecessours had rather with renowne to dye with honour, than lyue in all bondage and shame.

We contende for the libertie of our consciences, in defence of our wiues and children, our bloud and goodes, that is to say, whether the Duke of *Alba* with his complices shall according to his selfe will be a Lord and Governour, or that we to the behoufe of your Maestie, O most Souerayne King, shall defend it from him. We knowe that the limites of our liues are set, and shall not by the pardon of the Duke of *Alba* surpasse the same. Therefore we onely desire your Maestie, that it may please the same to weye and consider our cases, and not to suffer, that we by accepting such pardons, shoulde for euer be reputed as rebels to God and our King, which we neuer thought.

For we are fully perswaded, that although we had receyued those pardons, yet would it nothing haue preuayled for safegard of our lyues, for thereby the Duke of *Alba* might haue had the better action againste vs to proceede



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with most severitie, & might better haue answered for himselfe, if we had confessed our selues guilty of rebellion, both against God and the King his Maestie. For then no man would haue moued vs, although we had bene slaine & murdered as disturbers of the peace and common wealth and not worthy to liue.

And although it were not so, yet it is apparant by all the Duke of *Alba* hys proceedings, that he meaneth to obserue no fayth with vs, for seeing that he hath openly perpetrated the othe which the Duches of *Parma*, with all the Lords and gouernours of the countrey, in the name of your Maestie, had sworne so solemnely to these towne: yet hath he in these latter warres, sufficiently expressed his peruerse meaning in diuers towne, as at *Monts* in *Henauld* hath he contrary to his othe, caused a number of Burgeses to bee hanged, at *Naerden* he hath executed his crueltie in such sort as in a towne of like bignes hath not ben hard of: and now at *Harlem* hath he or at the least in his name, *Don Frederico* assured the souldiours of their liues, & therevnto certaine Lordes as pledges they bounde themselves: and yet hath he euen to the young pages: caused them to be murdered one with another, and their naked carkasses to the scandale of all women, and virgins, left lying vpon the scaffold a day and a night. And such as had consented to the deliury of the towne, & were entred into his seruice, hath he caused to bee caried to the Galies, and vpon the fuycke before *Harlem* when he had promised the souldiours their liues, suffered them to perish with hunger, saying: & he had assured them of their liues, and not of meate and drinke. As also the Burgeses of *Harlem*, whom hee had assured their liues, hath he compelled to be Wyners before the towne of *Alkmer*, where they are by the inhabitantes slayne: which doth passe all barbarous tyranny and crueltie, and is a most manifest token wherewith he seeketh to maintaine his vntreue proceedings.

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So y<sup>e</sup> it is euident y<sup>e</sup> he meaneth not to obserue any othes  
or promises, but for a small time: to y<sup>e</sup> entent he might the  
better haue his will of others, & because he might the better  
hereafter defend his case, against your Maiestie, & other Prin-  
ces, doth produce this pardō: for if we do accept y<sup>e</sup> same we  
must needes acknowledge our selues gilltie of such offences,  
as he layeth to our charge, & is not bound to the obseruing  
of any oth: for by y<sup>e</sup> counsel holdē at *Constance*, it was aboue  
ij. hūndred yeres enacted y<sup>e</sup> no faith is to be kept w<sup>th</sup> heretikes.

For whereas he doth in his pardō subtilly alleadge y<sup>e</sup> suche  
offences as haue ben cōmitted, were don more vpon euil sug-  
gestiō, & euil will, thā of their own nature and inclination.  
This is but a subtil pollicie, wherewith he mēt to deceiue y<sup>e</sup>  
simple, & bring them vnder his yoke: & to furnish himself of  
power to suppress all such as he thinketh good, & that with-  
out reproch of any, seeing that it standeth in his iudgement  
who hath offended the premisses or not.

But once consider most soueraigne King, how that the  
righteous God hath deceyued this subtile dealer in his pro-  
ceedinges, for in this pardon wherein he pretendeth most  
greuouſly to accuse vs, he doeth by expresse wordes con-  
fesse, that he can by no meanes think that we could not haue  
bene so altered or chaunged, but vpon euill suggestion, or  
els wee should haue continued in all fayth and willing-  
nesse, which we alwayes haue shewed to your Maiestie.

For if it be so, that we before this last offence (as he ter-  
meth it) haue shewed to your Maiestie all obedience as hee  
himselfe witnesseth? Why hath he then vsed such crueltye  
and persecution? Wherefore hath he in such sort destroyed  
the towneſ, burned the villages, and places: murdered the  
inhabitanter, and spoyled them of all their goodes: hath  
not he by his souldiours by fyre consumed *Carwicke* vpon  
*Zea*, *sandwicke* and *Alfen*, & that long before these trans-  
gressions, whereof hee complayneth, were begon. Did not  
they pretend to set fyre on the towne of *Vtrecht*, which was



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so well addicted vnto them, haue not they in *Rotterdam*, whereas they were receyued as friendes, cruelly murdered a nūber of Burgeses, was there not found by *Pacheco* a bill of innumerable number, aswell of the nobilitie, as most substantiall commons in sundry and diuers towne, which by commandement of the Duke should haue bin murdered, if matters by Gods prouision had not altered. And wherevnto tended the demaund of the tenth peny, to none other ende but that we should at his hands buy our goodes, whiche he pretended to be confiscated: wherby it appeareth that he and his adherents are sworne enemies vnto your Maiestie: whilest he doth in such sort execute his tirannie, murder, burning, and with suche force and seruitude, dothe agreeue vs your subiects, whome he him selfe doth alleage to haue bin most faithfull vnto your maiestie. So as thorough necessitie we haue bin compelled to enter into armes to resist his force and tirannie: which his seruants could not denie, who diuers times haue sayd that they would so long bere and trouble this countrey and inhabitantes thereof, that in the end they shoulde be forced to rebell, and so haue occasion to bring it vnder subiection, and spoyle the same of all their substance: whiche is to be approued by some letters, whereby was written, that this it was for which they longed. It is very true most soueraigne King, that y<sup>e</sup> Duke dothe here alleage, as that your subiects would neuer had rebelled, but vppon suggestion of certayne euill disposed, which euill disposed are none other than the Duke himself, with his bloudy counsell, and sanguine adherents, which of meere set enill will, and vninsatiable auarice, haue sucked the sweat and bloud of your subiects, and of long time so earnestly persecuted, and greened to the vttermost, that they for defence of themselves, their wiues, children, and al that whiche in this world they do esteeme of, haue bin forced to take armes in hand. Therefore where as he presumeth that he hath so louingly dealt with other towne: take example  
by

## A Supplication.

by *Tourney, Valencien, Lysle, Ipre, Maestricht, Deuenter*, and likewise by *Machlin, Oudenard, Dermonde, & Naerden*, where they haue by murthering, robbing, hāging, rauishing of women, & with diuers outrages persecuted y<sup>e</sup> poore commons.

Besides this, hath there bene murthered at *Bruxels* at sundry tymes about CC. and. xxx. Burgeses, and that long before the beginning of these warres, as also in a commotion at *Gant*, which happened amongst y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards, where of the commons haue bene slaine lx. or lxx. besides an infinite number of men & women, which at sundrie times haue bene murthered: which wee leaue to enlarge heere, seeing those their proceedings are accompted mercifull dealings, besides other most wicked insolēces vsed in y<sup>e</sup> said towne.

And therefore he needeth not to threaten vs, that if wee doe not accept his pardon, that no rigour which may be deuised, shalbe left vnexercised towarde our persones, by desolation, hunger and sword, in such sorte, as no remembrance shalbe left of them present. For we are certaine, that here about he hath sought as much as is to him possible: and would vndoubtedly haue vsed further crueltie (whereof he boasteth so much) if the feare which hee hath, that the Countreys would not any longer abyde his crueltie, had not letted him.

Hee doth not so much esteeme the service of your Maestie, nor regardeth your heritage and countries, as that he would abstaine from ruining and destroying the same: yea vtterly to roote out the reliques and memories thereof, so farre as it were to him possible, as the burning and desolating which he before these warres, hath vsed, doe sufficiently beare witnesse. But we trust that the almightie God will neuer suffer that your Maestie should permit your Countries altogether to fall into the force of such a Tyrant and destroyer.

For, whereas hee here alleadgeth that we haue put on armes agaynst your Maestie: that we vtterly deny. For



## A Supplication.

we profess before your Maiestie, yea before God & his Angels, that our meaning or pretence was neuer such. For we will adventure our selues and all that we haue in this world; as likewise we haue done towards your Maiesties predecessors, with life and goods to stand to the defence of your maiestie against all your enemies and ill willers.

But this wee will acknowledge before the vniuersall world, that (being therunto extremely constrained) we haue taken armes in hand agaynst the tyranny and abuses of the Duke of *Alba* and his complices, to deliuer our liues and goods, wyues and children from the bloudthirstie hands of his ministers: and if hee doe preuaile agaynst vs, rather chuse to dye an honorable death, and leaue a fame to our successours, than to yelde and bowe to suche a tyrant, and suffer our countrey to liue vnder vnsupportable slaue-rie. So els we should be abashed and ashamed to shewe our faces in any other Countries, as hauing neglected the seruice of your Maiestie. And therefore haue all the Townes ioinctly and seuerally taken in hand and sworn the one after the other, to abyde all sieges, if neede bee, to the bittermost: though to the losse of their lyues and goods, yea rather set fyre of our owne howles, than to yelde to the force of this Tyrant.

For wee are well assured, that at the hands of such a Tyrant, as regardeth no othe, and hath so often and cruelly threatned vs, there is no more to be looked for, but that hee would rather colour the riuers & streames with our blood, and to behange the countrey with our bodyes, to satiate his bloudthirstie lust and appetite.

Therefore we prostrate our selues before the feete of your Maiestie, desiring the same for God his sake, who hath set the Crowne vpon your head, and giuen the Scepter into your hande, once to bowe your eares to our reasonable complayntes. Wee doe not desire to bee dissolved from the obedience of your Maiestie, but onely that we may  
haue

## A Supplication.

haue our consciences free to Godwarde, to heare his holy word, and to follow the same, to the intent to giue an accopt at the day of Iudgement of our soules, and that wee may atchieue such discharge for our miserable native Countrie, which alwaies hath done such faithful seruice to your maiestie, from the yoke and bondage of foraine Nations and *spanish* Souldiours, and to suffer the Countrie to enioye those liberties, priuileges and customes, as your Maiestie, and the most puissant Emperour Charles, your Maiesties most noble father (of famous memorie) haue to your Subjects solemnely sworne.

Then will we at the commandement of your Maiestie lay downe our weapons and armes, and wil venture body, goods, and all that we haue in the world, in the seruice of your maiestie by water or by land, where and when so euer your Maiestie shall commaund the same: and your Maiesty shall finde that we are not altered or abastarded from you, but rather that we doe excel in faithful seruice all our predecessours, which hereby we do promise and sweare to your maiestie, beseeching euen as we doe faithfully meane it, so to take mercy of our soules.

Desiring that this our declaration and othe be openly published and declared to all Kings, Potentates, Lordes and Nations, to the intent they may knowe that we are no Rebelles towards our King, for we neuer learned such of our predecessours: But that we of mere force and necessitie haue bin constrained to take on armes against the enemies and vsurpers of his maiesties name.

Requesting therfore all christen Princes & Potentates, that they wil be moued with a pityfull compassion of our miseries, (and much doubting that this our supplication, & declaration shall be kept backe and suppressed, as other our former Requestes haue bin, and not come to our Kings handes:) that they wil thereof informe his Maiestie, to the

DD, ij.

Maiestie



## A Supplication.

maiestie, to the Intt our iust cause may come to light, & that  
his Maiestie may be acquitted of the innocent blood,  
which this *Albanish* Tyrant doth shed.

This we hartily desire, and we

al wil pray vnto almighty

God, for their pro-

peritie to re-

maine for

euer.

*Wish*  
**FINIS.**

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